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## CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
The Sea-board Slave States.....	217	The Cuban Slave Trade.....	233
Lord Brougham on the Slave Trade and Im- migration .....	219	Hayti and the Haytians.....	234
Anti-Slavery Items .....	224, 237	British Abolitionist Movements.....	235
Papers relating to the Cultivation of Cotton in Africa .....	225	Review .....	237
		Advertisements .....	237

### SEA-BOARD SLAVE STATES.

(Resumed from our last.)

MR. OLMSTED devotes the fourth chapter of his book to detailing what he calls "the experience of Virginia," and gives some of the data and phenomena of the Virginia experiment in political economy. This is, in fact, nothing less than a brief history of the Colony, and includes an account of the introduction of African slaves introduced in the country at present, included in the United States. Our readers will be interested in the narration.

#### SOME DATA AND PHENOMENA OF THE VIRGINIA EXPERIMENTS IN POLITICAL ECONOMY.

"In the shipping-lists and other records of the first settlement of Virginia, a large proportion of the colonists are carefully designated 'gentlemen.' The circumstance that the clergyman and surgeon-general have the honour to be mentioned in this company, but the untitled physician and surgeon are reckoned among the common people, will indicate pretty clearly the meaning of the distinction.

"In the first ship, there are fifty 'gentlemen,' with one hair-dresser, one tailor, one drummer, one mason, one blacksmith, four carpenters, and but eight professed labourers.

"Speaking of the immigrants by the first three ships, Captain John Smith, in his autobiography, says there were not two dozen that had ever done a real day's work in their lives, before they left England. Of these, eight were Dutchmen and Poles. The rest of the nominal labourers had previously been gentlemen's lackeys and house servants, or were bankrupt tradesmen and desperate loafers. 'Ten good workmen would have done more substantial work than ten (of the best of them) in a week.'

"To keep them all from perishing, Smith

was obliged to drive them to work almost at the sword's point; and when he had the whole responsibility of government to occupy his mind, and its various duties of superintendence to take up his time, he himself did more hard and irksome manual labour, with his own hands, than any other man in the colony.

"Smith, of course, was unpopular, was conspired against, and denounced as a shrewd, ambitious, self-seeking demagogue. His enemies never dared try to tar and feather him; but they finally obtained his dismissal from the governorship. No sooner, however, did he leave the miserable rabble of snobs and flunkies to take care of themselves, than their absolute helplessness was made manifest. Presently they were reduced to such extremity as is described in the following passage from the 'Observations of William Symmons, Doctor of Divinitie.'

"—So great was our Famine, that a Saluage we slew, and buried, the poorer Sort tooke him up againe and eat him and so did diuers others one another, boyled and stewed with Roots and Herbs! And one amongst the rest did kill his Wife, powdered her, and had eaten part of her before it was knowne, for which he was executed as he well deserved; now whether she was better roasted, boyled, or carbonado'd, I know not, but of such a dish as powdered Wife I neuer heard of. This was that Time which still to this Day we call the staruing Time; it were too vile to say and scarce to be believed, what we endured: but the Occasion was our owne, for want of Providence, Industrie, and Government, and not the barrennesse and defects of the Country, as is generally supposed.'

"At length, in a fit of desperation, the surviving adventurers packed what provisions

their recklessness had not yet destroyed, in boats, abandoned their enterprise, and actually embarked with the intention of coasting to the northward until they should fall in with the honest labouring fishermen on the banks of Newfoundland, of whom they could ask charity. Before they got out of the river, however, they were met by Sir Thomas Dale, just arriving from England with a Governor's commission. He obliged them to return; and, after a short experience of their laziness and imprudence, proclaimed martial law, ordered them all, gentle and simple, to work in gangs under overseers, and threatened to shoot the first man who refused to labour, or was disobedient.† Yet but six hours' work was all that it was deemed prudent or necessary to require. Smith says that one day's labour of each man was amply sufficient to provide him with food for a week; but most of the Colonists would actually starve rather than do this much.

"William Box writes home an account of the dreadful amount of hard work that it is necessary to have done, but is careful to add—

"Neuertheless it must not be conceived that this Business of planting a Colony excludes Gentlemen whose Breeding never knew what a Day's Labor was; for though they can not dig, use the Spade, or practise the Ax, there is abundant Occasion for such to imploy the force of Knowledge, the Excuse of Counsel, the Operation and Power of their best Breeding and Qualities."

"Smith, however, wrote to the Treasurer in London—

"When you send again, I entreat you send rather but Thirty Carpenters, Husbandmen, Gardeners, Fishermen, Blacksmiths, Masons, and Diggers Up of Trees' Roots, well provided, than a Thousand such as we have, for except we be able to both lodge and feed them, the most will consume for want of Necessaries before they can be made good for any thing."

"He says elsewhere—

"They desired but to pack over so many as they could, saying Necessity would make them get Victuals for themselves, as for good laborers they were more usefull here in England; but they found it otherways, the Charge was all one to send a Workman as a Roarer, whose Clamors to appease we had much adoe to get Fish and Corne to maintaine them from one supply till another came, with more Loyterers without Victuals still, to make us worse and worse: for the most of them would rather starve than worke."

"The Colony still languishing, though things

† "One reads, not without admiration of the candour of the writer, the following observation of Mr. Howison: 'If it be admitted that the Southern States of the American Union have acted wisely in enacting, for the slaves unhappily existing within their borders, laws different from those applied to the whites, then we presume that none who approve this distinction can object to the principle upon which the martial law of Sir Thomas Dale was introduced.'—Dale found it necessary to apply to the Cavaliers the same motive to labour which their descendants now consider only requisite for the African race. Is it blood or education that is the essential evil?"

much improved under Sir Thomas Dale, in 1618 the Company petitioned the Crown to make them a present of 'vagabonds and condemned men,' to be sent out as slaves; and the King, thankful, probably, to get rid of the burden of taking care of these men, who had been too lazy heretofore to take of themselves in any other way than by pilfering and knavery, was graciously pleased to grant their request. The following year a hundred head of this valuable stock was driven out of Bridewell and other London knave-pens, on board ship, and exported to Virginia.

"The next year, twenty head of black men, direct from Africa, were landed from a Dutch ship, in James River, and were immediately bought by the gentlemen of the Colony.

"These were the first negro slaves in the country at present included in the United States. The same year the first cheerful labour by the voluntary immigrants to New England, by the Mayflower, was applied to the sterile soil of Massachusetts Bay.

"Notwithstanding the gentlemen of Virginia were thus relieved from the necessity of personal labour, the Colony continued to demand from England such large supplies of provisions, and other stores, which it seemed well fitted to produce within itself, that the King ordered a commission to ascertain what was the secret of its remarkable adversity and continued helplessness and poverty.

"An examination of the chartered Companies' books shewed that more than one hundred and fifty thousand dollars had been then already sunk in the endeavour to establish and sustain the Colony.

"Smith was examined at length.† Being asked what charge he thought, at the time he left, would have defrayed the necessary expenses of establishing the Colony on a safe footing, he answered, that twenty thousand pounds, if it could have been expended in *wages to good labourers and mechanics*, would have been amply sufficient; and added that one hundred *good hired hands* would have been worth more than a thousand of such as had been sent out; and that though Lord Delaware, Sir Thomas Dale, and Sir Thomas Gates, who had been Governors in Virginia since he was there, had been previously persuaded otherwise, they had now come to be of his mind about it.

"In reply to the inquiry, what he thought were the defects of the government, he said it was generally complained that the supplies intended for the benefit of the Colony at large were appropriated by a few individuals to their private advantage, and that even *the labourers sent out to work for the Company were sold to the highest bidders among private adventurers*. God forbid, he continued, that those who transport these servants thither, and provide them

† "Smith had once been a slave himself, and had been driven to agricultural labour by his Tartar master, exactly as the African slaves now are in America. He knew very well, therefore, the different value of a slave, obliged to work for another's benefit, and a free man, working for himself. It is a curious thing, also, that finally he killed his owner, and fled to the North.—See his Life, by himself."



with necessaries, should not be repaid, or that masters should not there have the same privileges over their servants that they had in England; but it was an odious thing, and a source of corresponding evil, that when the cost of their shipment was not more than eight, or, at the most, ten pounds each, they should be sold, as they were, to the planters, from the ships, at forty, fifty, and threescore pounds, and this *without any stipulation as to how they should be treated or maintained*. He would have these merchants made such merchandise of themselves, rather than suffer such a bad trade to continue longer, for it was enough to bring a well-settled commonwealth to misery, much more such a one as Virginia.

"It was not discontinued until the revolution of 1776.

"According to a letter of John Rolfe's, in 1619, there had been many complaints that the Governors, Captains, and officers bought and sold men and boys, or set them over, from one to another, for a yearly rent; also that tenants and servants were frequently misused, and covenants were not kept with them, and the Council in England, in order to amend these abuses, ordered that a hundred men should be provided at the Company's charge, to serve and attend the Governor; fifty, the Deputy Governor; fifty, the Treasurer, and smaller numbers for the other officers; and likewise to each officer a competency sufficient to enable him to live well in his office, without resorting to those scandalous means. These servants they were required to deliver up in good order to their successors; but complaint is afterwards made that they generally failed to do so, and that many of them were sold to the planters, and the proceeds pocketed by the chivalrous cavaliers.

"Being next asked how he would remedy the evils under which the Colony suffered, Smith recommended, first, that the officers should be held to a more strict accountability for the funds placed in their hands; second, that less should be expended from the common stock in maintaining the officers' and deputies' servants; and thirdly, that sufficient workmen, and means to maintain them, should be provided, and that the practice of sending out delinquents who could not be ruled by the laws of England should be stopped forthwith. To improve a commonwealth with debauched people, he maintained, was out of the question; no wise man would choose to seek his fortune in such company. There was more ado, he repeated, in conclusion, about the administration of their paltry government, than was necessary for that of the kingdoms of Ireland and Scotland; *the number of officers in Virginia, with their attendants, was greater than that of all the workers*.

"The report of the investigating commission was never made public, but it resulted in an abrogation of the charter of the Company, and a bar upon their property, if not a formal confiscation of it, which has never been defended on any other grounds than such as are held to justify the forcible suppression of a public nuisance. The chief cause of the failure of the Colony had evidently been the indolence and imbecility of the people; nevertheless, the practice of sending out malefactors was not discontinued, nor were any

pains taken to encourage the emigration of industrious poor men, eager to improve their circumstances.\*

"The king, however, had the sense to make the *gentlemen* of the Colony dependent neither on wages, nor partnership in profits, but wholly on their own individual good management. Patents of land, to any extent, were given to all applicants, except nonconformists, on the payment of a quit-rent to the crown, of two shillings an acre. This led to a large immigration of speculators, who immediately commenced planting tobacco, with all the labourers, of any sort, that they could command.

"Four years later, Smith says, 'The Colony has increased wonderfully beyond expectation, and that tobacco is raised in such excessive quantities, that the market is already quite overstocked with it. He looks for a good effect to follow—that the small profit of raising tobacco 'will cause the people to come together to work upon soap-ashes, iron, rape-oil, madder, pitch and tar, flax and hemp.' We shall see that even he had not sufficiently appreciated the irreparable mischief which the degradation of labour must entail upon a community.

"The more the people of the Colony increase in numbers, the more distinctly do they continue to be classed under the two grand divisions—gentlemen and labourers. Under the head of gentlemen are to be included the colonial officers, the clergy, and the large land proprietors, sometimes styled adventurers (a term equivalent to speculators), but generally called planters. Lawyers and physicians are seldom mentioned. The labourers are subdivided, under the three heads of heathen slaves, convict slaves or servants, and bond-servants: no doubt there were some free-men labouring for wages also, and a few mechanics and others, living by job-work, but there is never any mention of such."

#### LORD BROUGHAM ON THE SLAVE-TRADE AND IMMIGRATION.

In the August number of the *Reporter*, we gave an account of the proceedings in the House of Lords on the 17th of July last, on the presentation of a petition from British Guiana, on the subject of immigration from Africa, and took occasion to copy from the reports of the daily press the speech which Lord Brougham made on that occasion. It appears to have been any thing but a correct one; and having been favoured with an amended report of the same, through the courtesy of the noble Lord and of Mr. Hansard, we deem it of sufficient importance to produce the same *in extenso*.

#### THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.—EMIGRATION OF NEGROES.

##### RESOLUTION.—ADDRESS.

THE MARQUESS OF CLANRICARDE, who had a notice upon the paper of his intention to

\* "In 1614, shortly after Lord Delaware's return from Virginia, being in the House of Commons on the reception of a petition from Virginia, he made the capital observation: 'All Virginia requires is but a few honest labourers burthened with children.'"

present a petition from Guiana, praying for the removal of certain impediments to the importation of free labourers into that colony, said, that he would give way to his noble and learned friend, believing that the discussion of this subject would be favourable to the views of the petitioners.

LORD BROUGHAM.—“My Lords, I rise to move a Resolution, which I propose to follow up by a Motion for an Address on the subject of an apprehended revival of the African slave-trade. My Lords, when I consider the very great importance of the question which I am about to bring before your Lordships, I cannot avoid expressing my surprise—my agreeable surprise—at finding so many of your Lordships now present; for the subject has nothing to do with party, it has nothing personal to recommend it, it has none of those qualities that generally create a gathering together, I will not say in both Houses, but in your Lordships’ House of Parliament. It rather belongs to that class of questions of which Mr. Canning once said, ‘Vital questions, as they are called, are those questions which nobody cares two straws about.’ I cannot say, however, that the present question comes within that description, for there is, both in Parliament and out of it, a very strong feeling, as well as a deeply-rooted conviction, of the importance attaching to the subject which I shall now proceed shortly to bring before your Lordships.

“My Lords, it was with very great pain, and no little astonishment, that I first heard of the measures which have been lately adopted in Paris. I felt then, as I feel now, perfectly assured that the Sovereign of that country is wholly incapable of lending his countenance to any measures which would tend to revive the African slave-trade. I say so, in the first place, on account of His Majesty’s family connexion with him who first in France abolished that execrable traffic. The ‘Most Christian Kings’ had, one after another, allowed that traffic not only to continue, but even to flourish, and had, indeed, all the while encouraged instead of suppressing it. It was reserved for the first Napoleon to do that act of his life which reflects the most honour upon him—I will say, indeed the only act of his life in which he shewed himself the friend of human rights and human liberties—it was reserved for him, at once and for ever, to abolish the African slave-trade. I cannot, therefore, believe that he, who so naturally prides himself upon his near relationship to that celebrated individual, will take a retrograde course, and lend his countenance to a system which his eminent predecessor abolished, and by a measure as to which he has probably been not only *ill advised* and *mised*, but deceived. The Emperor of the French, no doubt, believed that the project in question had none of that tendency to the revival of the slave-trade which I think I can prove to your Lordships, without doubt or question, it possessed: I cannot believe it possible that His Imperial Majesty has been otherwise than misinformed and deceived. There is another reason why I take this view. When I consider those by whom he is surrounded, and to whom he gives in ecclesiastical matters so much of his confidence—namely, those ministers of religion to whose policy his Imperial Majesty seems inclined to

lean, I feel certain that they must have told him of the offences committed by slave-traders being ranged in the denunciations of Holy Writ with the most hateful and disgusting crimes of which man can be guilty; crimes to which I dare not in this place even allude, except to say that they are not worse than slave-trading. When this shall have been well represented to His Imperial Majesty, and especially when he finds that your Lordships, and that the Government of this country, view with great suspicion all that is now doing, or attempting to be done—when that shall have been represented to the Emperor, I trust that His Majesty will view these transactions with the same jealous suspicion of their possible consequences, and that he will be thus furnished with a sufficient answer to the importunities of his colonial subjects, to which, for the present, and under a misapprehension of the facts and consequences, he seems to have given way.

“My Lords, without further preface, I will proceed to state how it is that licences have been given to certain mercantile adventurers, or to certain agents, as it has even been said, of the French Government, to import a limited number of ‘free negroes,’ as the phrase has been, into the French West-Indian colonies. Now, such a scheme as that must end in a renewal of the internal African slave-trade. From the representations which have been made to me by a learned friend, Mr. Fitzpatrick, who filled the important office of judicial assessor on the Gold Coast for a period of six years, and who was thoroughly acquainted with the Messrs. Regis, of Marseilles, as well as their representatives upon the Gold Coast, he had ascertained that those gentlemen were most respectable merchants; so that in the information which I have received in reference to them from Mr. Fitzpatrick, prejudice against them cannot be said to have a share. What, then, is the proposition which, according to Mr. Fitzpatrick, was made upon the part of those gentlemen? Why, that the Africans, being slaves in their own country should be induced to emigrate to the West Indies; that care should be taken that the contracts which might be entered into with them should be faithfully observed; that they should have the security of the Government officers for their proper treatment on the voyage to the West Indies; that upon their arrival in that quarter they should have Government security for the exercise of kindness towards them upon the part of the masters, to whom they were to be bound apprentices by indenture; and that if they at any time desired to return to their native country, they should be allowed to do so, and should be conveyed back to the coast from which they had been taken, at the charge of those by whom they had been carried to a foreign land. Thus it was proposed to do for them, in short, every thing which humanity could suggest. But I will beg your Lordships to bear in mind that we do not this evening hear for the first time of Africans being slaves in their own country, or of the great benefits which must result to them from their transmigration to the western hemisphere. On the contrary, I can recollect the assurances of a blessed change to be effected by such a transmigration, which were in former times so confidently made. Looking back over a period of sixty years, during which time I



have had my share in promoting the abolition of the slave-trade, and during which I have laboured, more or less actively, more or less successfully, but always to the utmost of my power, for the attainment of that great object, I cannot name a single discussion upon the subject, in which language precisely similar to that to which I have just called your Lordships' attention was not made use of. I shall not trouble the House with any lengthened quotations in proof of this statement; but it is important that I should produce two or three instances, in order to shew how identical are the arguments which, in years gone by, were advanced in favour of the slave-trade, and the reasons which are now put forward in support of the proposed system of free emigration. The advocates of slave-trading then, and the advocates of free emigration now, use identically the same arguments. From the year 1787 down to the abolition of the slave-trade in 1807, the reasons which were urged in opposition to the measure bore to those used a striking similarity. In 1811, four years afterwards, I introduced into the other House of Parliament the Bill declaring that the conveyance of Africans from their own country, and their sale in other lands, was in law, as it had always been in fact, a crime, and not a traffic. But up to that time, and during the whole period of the controversy from 1787, in all the debates upon that question, General Tarleton, who was then member for Liverpool, asserted that the Africans themselves entertained no objection to the slave-trade. He, moreover, complained that those who held contrary opinions were led away by a mistaken humanity. He indignantly denied even the misery which it was said had been inflicted upon those unfortunate negroes in the middle passage, and contended that only five out of 500 of them died upon an average, while 10½ per cent. of our own troops perished on board the West-India transports. General Tarleton further cited, in support of his views, the authority of one governor, two admirals, one captain, a commodore, and a large number of naval officers, whom he represented as friendly to the slave-trade, and as willing witnesses to the benefits which it conferred. Sir William Young, himself a planter, in the course of the same debates, stated that he did not regard the commerce in African slaves in the light of an inhuman commerce. Not only did he defend the traffic in these human beings on the ground that they were slaves in their own country, and, in addition to being slaves, were there subjected to various tortures, and, in many instances, to murder itself—from all of which he maintained they were saved by the slave-trade; but he described their happiness in the West Indies, and even on board of ship, in romantic terms. According to him, a slave estate was a most delightful spectacle. He spoke of the slaves dancing and singing, and enjoying every indulgence. Alderman Brook Watson, Lord Mayor, took the same view. He held that those who had brought them from their own country had brought them to happiness; and wound up by telling the House that there could not be a more delightful scene than that presented by the dancing and other amusement of the happy slaves on a well-managed estate. These quotations will probably be sufficient to shew your

Lordships that the arguments now brought forward in favour of the negro-emigration scheme are by no means original, but had been brought forward very freely in defence of the execrable slave-traffic from 1787 to 1811. This plan of free emigration has, indeed, an ominous resemblance to the scheme in which the slave-trade had its origin. Soon after the discovery of America, it was thought that the miseries inflicted by the avarice and cruelty of the Spaniards upon the native Indian tribes might be terminated, if their place was supplied by the importation of negroes from Africa. That scheme arose from the union of short-sighted benevolence with far-sighted self-interest. This unnatural union it was which first produced that monstrous progeny—the African Slave-trade. The greatest cruelty ever perpetrated in the history of the world has been ascribed, I hope untruly, to one of the most eminent philanthropists that ever lived, Bartholomew Las Casas, the protector of the Indians. In accordance with that plan, to which Cardinal Ximenes would not listen, a licence to take out 4000 negroes from Africa was obtained from Charles V., who granted it inconsiderately—a licence which was afterwards annually renewed. It is quite true that slaves had been carried over from Africa previously; but the traffic was only an insignificant trading of the Portuguese. The foundations of the slave-trade were laid by the Emperor Charles and his Flemish councillors. Between that plan and the scheme now proposed, there is the closest resemblance; for what is the pecuniary arrangement offered by the French Government? The terms proposed to those negroes are 9s. a month, and it is said that negroes, having been purchased and liberated on the African coast, will immediately have their minds opened to the nature of an indenture of apprenticeship, will immediately enter into such indentures, and go on board ship to be conveyed to the West Indies at wages of 12 francs, or 9s. a month, with an allowance of provisions. Now, the negro nature is completely misunderstood by those who defend such a scheme. The negroes are naturally simple-minded and innocent; but they are possessed almost—as were the ancient Egyptians—with an absolute horror of the sea. That feeling was always rooted in their nature, even before the commencement of the slave-trade, and it had gathered additional strength from that infernal traffic and the middle passage connected with it. To propose, therefore, to free negroes to emigrate from Africa and cross the ocean, is one of the wildest schemes which ever a perverted imagination conceived. It is said that the Kroomen, who are free negroes, eagerly offer their labour; and that therefore it is natural to presume other negroes will be ready to leave their country. But what are the inducements which must be held out to those Kroomen before they would consent to go on board ship? Upon that subject I have the benefit of information both from Mr. Fitzpatrick, who has had great experience in Africa, and from the paymaster of one of Her Majesty's ships upon that coast, and from their statements I can inform your Lordships what wages are necessary to tempt the Kroomen to go on board ship. Why, their engagements are only temporary; they are paid

19 or 20 dollars a month, or something like 2s. 6d. a day, and not 3d. or 4d., as M. Regis offers; and then they will only ship themselves upon condition that they shall only work upon the coast, and that they shall be allowed to land when they please; and when the ship leaves the coast, the Kroomen invariably leave the ship. When my noble friend (Earl Grey)—whose absence on the present occasion I very greatly regret—was in office, he was very much pressed to sanction some scheme of negro emigration; much stress was laid on the benefits which would accrue to the Africans themselves by such an emigration; the Kroomen were quoted, and great stress was laid upon the want of labour in some of the colonies. My noble friend was much disposed to countenance a scheme having for its object the promotion of the emigration of free labour, provided it could be carried into effect without danger of the revival of the slave-trade in another shape. Accordingly, his Lordship employed a very intelligent officer to proceed in a steamer to the coast of Africa, and to make inquiries whether it were possible to procure really free emigrants. Earl Grey found it was impracticable to try the experiment, and although the colonists were very anxious for what they called 'the removal of obstacles to the emigration of free labourers,' his Lordship must have perceived that as what they desired under this phrase was buying slaves, in order to liberate and transport them, it was neither more nor less than the suspension of the Abolition Act, which made the purchase of negroes, even for the purpose of liberating them, an offence punishable by transportation, and he most properly refused to listen to any such proposition. Now, with regard to the alleged want of hands in the Colonies, what is the real cause of it? I will read to your Lordships an extract from a letter written by Mr. Clark, a gentleman who has lived in Jamaica for twenty years, relating to that subject. Mr. Clark, in that letter, which is dated June the 4th, 1855, states:

"Agriculture and commerce are now looking up. The proprietors of estates who were wise and able enough to carry on their estates during the season of low prices are now getting large returns; and (he goes on to say) still, notwithstanding the price of produce having more than doubled, the labourers are almost everywhere compelled to work at the same rate as when it was at the lowest ebb—9d. and 1s. a day. The papers have, however, taken the matter up, and I hope that ere long 1s. 3d. and 1s. 6d. will be paid, without any agitation or strike on their part. There is, again, the old cry for immigration, especially from Africa; whereas our planters, who treat the people fairly and kindly, are getting all the labour they require, and if more be wanted, they have but to increase the rate of wages, and their wants will be supplied more abundantly than by the importation of thousands of immigrants."

"In reply to the question as to whence those negroes were to come, we are at once informed that there are many at present working on the provision grounds, or on small farms and gardens, in raising produce for the market, who would work on the plantations if their wages were increased to 15d. or 18d. a day. As to obtaining

negroes from Africa, I at once admit that there would be no difficulty on this head. Only let it be known that so many pounds sterling will be given for each slave in order to liberate him—only let it be known to the native chiefs that any captives taken in war will be ransomed—and I will answer for it that numbers of slaves will be brought for purchase, and that then, under the pretence of an indenture of apprenticeship, they will be carried across the sea to the new world. Captives, as well as home-born slaves, there will be in plenty. In order to supply a sufficient number of captives to be ransomed, wars will be undertaken by the native chiefs for the express purpose of taking prisoners and bringing them down to the coast for sale to the 'emigration' companies. It was said by Mr. Pitt—and God forbid that ever again there should be cause for its being repeated!—"Alas! you treat human beings as merchandise, and yet you do not give them the common benefit of the principle of all commerce, that the supply suits itself to the demand." Would that the voice of that great man could now ring through those walls, and put down each attempt to revive the African slave trade! "Ubi, Pansa, illa tua vox quæ populum Romanum monere solebat, nihil homini foedius servitute!" Although the natural character of the negro is simple and innocent, yet all who have visited the country agree in saying that the African princes, and chiefly on account of this execrable traffic, have been inured to blood in a degree confined, I really believe, to that quarter of the globe. But the abolition of that abominable traffic has been attended with the best results on the African continent. Mr. Fitzpatrick tells me, 'that on the death of the Queen-Mother in one of those States, some seventy years ago, 150 persons were murdered on her grave,' while, as if shewing the softening effect of the suppression of the slave-trade, when her son died a short time back there was a notification that there would be no human sacrifice at all. Mr. Fitzpatrick, congratulating the reigning Prince on this salutary change in African customs, which he attributes to the abolition of the slave-trade, received a friendly answer with a present. Nor is this the only change. To the criminal traffic, or rather to the felony, has succeeded legitimate and innocent commerce. Great and even rapid progress has been made, and the exportation of produce from Africa to this country now amounts to above 2,000,000l. sterling; that is to say, such is the value of the goods sent from this country to be exchanged against the produce of legitimate industry. In the article of palm-oil, the principal article of that commerce on the Gold Coast, the export is upwards of 1,500,000l. This is the industry, this the commerce, we are called upon to interrupt; this is the scene we are desired to darken; this is the prospect which we are told it was our duty to cut off—the prospect of improvement in trade, in the arts of peace, and in civilization. It is this we are asked to stop, by sending men to purchase slaves under the pretence of ransoming captives taken in the wars which must of necessity be caused by the inducements which we hold out for the express purpose of making those captives, in order that they may be sold to us and carried away. I have cited the autho-



city of Mr. Fitzpatrick, I will now read a letter from him, which more than confirms the opinions which I have expressed. That gentleman says:

"The Africans are not a migratory people. If they were free to-morrow, and capable of understanding this contract for ten years' expatriation and servitude, which I need not tell your Lordships the poor African can no more comprehend than he could a problem in the higher geometry, 'they would much rather become slaves in their own country than enter into it. The Kroomen, though fond of earning money to take back to their own country after a short absence, and though tempted on board our cruisers by pay amounting to from 8 dollars to 12 dollars per month, with full rations or their money value equal to 7 dollars more per month, and employment on the element on which they are at home, will not enter into lengthened service; and to suppose that they would be induced by a promise of 12½ francs per month to go to a distant country for ten years is absurd. The MM. Regis, however, proposed to purchase the slave's freedom on condition of his at once emigrating for ten years' service in the French West Indies, and thus to establish a system of free emigration. It is difficult, I think, to discover in this plan the *punctum temporis* in which the subject of the operation is free. It merely provides a change of masters, with this peculiarity, that the new master and his country are to be far away, in regions of which the African never dreamed; and to slavery, I apprehend, it is honours, not enchantments, which are lent by distance. It is idle to suppose that a poor African slave will look forward to his freedom and a return to his country after ten years' service. It is a theory far too complex for his simple understanding. The slave then will not contract for a new and strange master in a distant land. But I am free to confess the master will; and, moreover, he will perform his part of the contract. When his own stock is exhausted, he will prey upon his neighbours; he will steal, and kidnap, and pan-yar; and those who have the requisite establishments will go out a hunting. The king of Dahomey will take out both his packs—his male and female "dogs of war"—and every *petit* chief will do the like."

"Mr. Fitzpatrick then states that great improvement has taken place among the African princes, and, adding that the most difficult of all things was to teach the natives a regard for truth, says:

"One of the objections to this emigration scheme is that it has all the appearance of a false pretence. No African will believe that a *dépôt* to receive emigrants at Whydah is any thing but a barracoon for slaves."

"I have received similar testimony from Mr. Forster, a highly respectable person connected with the African trade. He takes precisely the same view of the subject, and has printed his opinions in the newspapers. Having complained that he had been misrepresented on account of having mentioned the probable fate of a slave who refused to go voluntarily on board ship, he continues:

"What I said referred to his treatment in the hands of the native slave-dealer before he is

shipped, after he has been brought to the coast and sold.

"I deny that the native African is cruelly treated at home before he is sold. The natives of Africa are not a cruel people in their natural and social relations. I will undertake to say there are fewer murders among them in proportion to the population than there are in this country.

"If the slave-trade is to be revived in this new form, it may just as well be revived in its old shape. The consequences will be quite as bad—nay, in some respects, worse. A limited demand in the way proposed would bring more slaves from the interior than were wanted, and they would be starved in barracoons, while it would unsettle the minds of the people, and disturb and destroy legitimate trade, as much as an unlimited traffic under the old system."

"I have not dwelt upon that which presents itself as an insuperable difficulty in the way of this scheme for the emigration of Africans; I mean the impossibility of taking precautions which shall give us a chance—I do not say a reasonable prospect, but even a chance—of preventing the occurrence of the grossest abuse, the most cruel evils, in the course of the transport of the negroes. When we remember that no person, no free English subject, is allowed to embark on board a vessel going to Canada, or any other of our own settlements, without the greatest care being taken to examine her fittings, her stowage, her accommodation for the number of passengers proposed to be received on board, her provisions, and the medical attendance which has been provided; and, above all, to see that no more than the specified number are taken on board; and when we find that so strictly is this guarded by law that the severest penalties are inflicted in the case of any shipment of free English subjects on board an English merchant vessel, except at a port where there is a custom-house and a staff of officers to make these preliminary investigations; we must at once perceive the uselessness of any attempt to conduct on the coast of Africa a traffic of this sort, and to transport, not intelligent Englishmen, but half-civilized, or less than half-civilized Africans from one distant country to another.

"I do not think that I have any thing to add upon the general question; but I cannot conclude what I have to press upon your Lordships in behalf of the claims of Africa, without recalling to your recollection the opinions and the feelings of Mr. Pitt on this subject. Great as his authority is with some of you on many subjects, on this it must by all be admitted to have peculiar weight, and to deserve the greatest attention—I may say the most profound respect. Of all the speeches marked by his majestic eloquence—of all the speeches with which he astonished and delighted his hearers, his celebrated oration upon the abolition of the slave-trade, delivered in 1791, holds the first place. Some persons may think that his renowned declamation upon the breaking out of the war in 1803 equals, but it certainly does not surpass it. In that speech Mr. Pitt sums up the atonement which he trusted we were about to make for our long and cruel injustice to Africa. He expressed

his hope that in the evening of her days she was about to enjoy those blessings which had descended upon us at an earlier period of the world's history, and he closed with these memorable words:

"This great and happy change to be effected in the state of her inhabitants is, of the all various and important benefits of the abolition, in my estimation incomparably the most extensive and the most important."

"Some years later I heard him, upon the question of a grant to the colony of Sierra Leone, to which objections were taken on a false principle of economy, express his earnest hope and even confidence that the day would come when Africa would take her place in the scale of nations, and enter on a new and splendid career, free in herself and freed for ever from the curse of that execrable traffic which had wasted her energies and destroyed her peace. My Lords, I now move my Resolution:

"That the encouragement of emigration of negroes from the African coast to the West Indies by the purchase or liberation of slaves, or the ransom of prisoners taken in war, even when this may not be held illegal, has a direct tendency to promote the internal slave-trade of Africa, and to obstruct the progress of its inhabitants in the arts of peace and the course of civilization."

"Motion agreed to *Nemine Dissentiente*."

"Then it was moved:

"That a humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that Her Majesty will be graciously pleased to withhold her countenance from all such schemes among her subjects, and will use her best endeavours with Her Majesty's allies for engaging them to discontinue all projects which have a tendency to promote African emigration by any means directly or indirectly connected with the purchase of slaves or ransom of captives taken in war."

"Agreed to *Nemine Dissentiente*."

#### ANTI-SLAVERY ITEMS.

**SALE OF A WOMAN AT WASHINGTON.**—The public has been assured, over and over again, that the slave-trade in the District of Columbia was abolished by the compromises of 1850. That the statement is a lie we have long known, and here we have the evidence of the fact from the *Washington Star* of Feb. 23. The United-States Marshal, it will be seen, was to sell a woman, on the Friday of last week, along with "coal-hods," "ventilators" and "saucepans."

**"MARSHAL'S SALE.**—In virtue of a writ of fieri facias, issued from the Clerk's office of the Circuit Court for the County of Washington, in the District of Columbia, and to me directed, I shall expose to public sale, for cash, on Friday, the 27th day of February 1857, commencing at ten o'clock A. M., at the store-room of Francis Y. Naylor, on Pennsylvania avenue, between 3d 4½ streets, south side, the following goods and chattels, in part, to wit: One servant woman, a 'slave for life,' two bedsteads, bed and bedding, one wardrobe, four tables, one washstand, one clock, bureau and looking-glass, six pitchers, two maps, one oil carpet, twelve chairs,

one settee, lot of books, one lot of crockeryware, kitchen utensils, a lot of registers, ventilators, copper tea-kettles, saucepans, furnace, new and old stoves, iron pots, boilers, sifters, coal-hods, shovels, castings, coffee-roasters, dripping-pans, chafing-dishes, ice-cream moulds, Japan boxes, patent balance, iron chest, water-closets, washstand basins, shower-baths, cocks for bath tubs, and a lot of counters, shelves, &c., seized and levied upon as the goods and chattels of Francis Y. Naylor, and will be sold to satisfy Judicial No. 1, to October term, 1856.

"J. D. HOOVER,

"Marshal for the District of Columbia."

"J. S. P.," writing to *The Tribune*, says: "I attended the auction sale of the negro woman on Pennsylvania avenue yesterday. She was duly sold, according to the terms of the advertisement in *The Tribune*, along with the rubbish of the kitchen to which she belonged—old pots, tin pans, crockeryware, &c. I have no story to tell. Tears rolled down the woman's cheeks, and she turned away her face and wept. And this is the nineteenth century, and this the capital of the great Republic of modern days!"

**CALUMNY REFUTED.**—The London Missionary Society, which has had a fine opportunity to examine the workings of West-India emancipation, makes the following declaration in its last Annual Report:

"In the West Indies the old and oft-repeated calumny is refuted, that starvation is the only corrective for negro indolence, and the whip the only effectual stimulus to exertion. There we behold our former slaves, by honest industry acquiring, in many instances, the possessions of men by whom they were regarded but as goods and chattels; and we see them expending the fruits of their toil, not as their owners often did, in the gratification of low vices, but for the support of their Christian teachers, and in securing for their children the blessings of instruction."

**A SLAVEHOLDER FOILED IN KANSAS.**—The *Kansas Tribune* says an interesting little episode in the history of Slavery in Kansas, and one which pretty fairly exhibits the chances for the success of that institution, occurred in the vicinity of Holton a few days since. A gentleman from Missouri, believing, undoubtedly, in the entire beneficence of "the institution," and entertaining a laudable desire for its indefinite extension, had imported several specimens of chattels, with the intention of testing the profit of unrequited toil upon the virgin soil of Kansas. The settlers in the vicinity, however, not relishing the idea of being converted into a slaveholding community, and believing, moreover, in the practicability of squatter sovereignty, publicly convened, and in a very explicit manner expressed their disapprobation of such a proceeding, and furthermore volunteered, unless the alleged owner should, within a given time, remove his chattels, to relieve him of all responsibility in regard to them. The result was, that, although this was the third effort to introduce Slavery, it has so far been unsuccessful. It is useless to try again. The people of Holton will never permit themselves to be disgraced by the existence of human Slavery among them.



## The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1857.

### PAPERS RELATING TO THE CULTIVATION OF COTTON IN AFRICA.

IN our last issue we referred to the remarkable despatches of Mr. Consul Campbell, of Lagos, West Africa, to the Right Hon. the Earl of Clarendon, on the subject of the cultivation of cotton in Africa. They are so important and interesting that our readers will, we feel certain, be glad to have an opportunity of perusing them. We therefore subjoin them.

No. 1.

*Consul Campbell to the Earl of Clarendon.—*  
(Received February 11.)

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith my report of the trade of the Bight of Benin for the year 1856.

The whole of the ports in the Bight of Benin being under the rule of uncivilized native Powers, and having, except at Lagos, no regulations by which the amount of produce exported from them can be ascertained, my estimate of the amount of exports from all other ports except Lagos must only be regarded as approximative; but I feel certain, after having extended my inquiries, that while I have, in the instance of Badagry, somewhat exceeded the actual quantity of palm oil shipped, my estimates of the quantities of oil shipped from the other ports to the westward must be considerably within the mark, as I have now been furnished with the names of twenty-one vessels, in the aggregate of 6500 tons, from the single port of Bristol, which annually load almost wholly in the Bight of Benin; some four or five vessels from the port of London, of the average of 300 tons each, are also usually chartered for the Portuguese traders at Whydah, Porto Novo, &c., to load with palm oil for London, the proceeds of which cargoes are doubtless converted into Manchester and Glasgow fabrics, without which no foreigners can carry on the trade in palm oil. It further appears that some small vessels under Dutch, and, latterly, some under Spanish colours, have loaded cargoes for their respective countries, and one vessel under Sardinian colours, of about 150 tons, has lately laden a cargo of palm oil, ivory, and some cotton, as a sample, for Genoa.

In my anxiety to avoid exaggeration, I find I have under-estimated the total quantity of palm oil exported to all parts from the Bight of Benin, which is this year little, if at all, short of 20,000 tons.

As the resources of the country are developed, it is found that there are several oleaginous grains and matters from which good marketable oil can be extracted, samples of which are being sent to England and elsewhere; but the article of great interest and importance, which is now

attracting some attention, is cotton. The whole of the Yoruba, and other countries south of the Niger, with the Houssa and Nuffee countries on the north side of that river, have been, from all time, cotton-growing countries, and notwithstanding the civil wars, ravages, disorders, and disruptions caused by the Slave Trade, more than sufficient cotton to clothe their populations has always been cultivated, and their fabrics have found markets and a ready sale in those countries where the cotton-plant is not cultivated, and into which the fabrics of Manchester and Glasgow have not yet penetrated. The cultivation of cotton, therefore, in the above named countries is not new to the inhabitants; all that is required is, to offer them a market for the sale of as much as they can cultivate, and, by preventing the export of slaves from the seaboard, render some security to life, freedom, property, and labour.

The quantity of cotton exported from Lagos during the year past is only a portion of that cultivated by some of the leading Chiefs of the town of Abbeokuta who possess a few gleaning gins, and is but a fractional part of the quantity cultivated around the town of Abbeokuta. That grown throughout Yoruba, and the other countries bounded by the Niger, must be considerable, as not only their populations (at least 1,500,000) are clothed with their own cotton fabrics, but the quantities of these exported to other countries are considerable.

There appears, from the best information I have obtained, to be exported during the last year from the different ports on the coast to the Brazils:—

200,000 cotton cloths of native manufacture, each containing, on an average, 2½ lbs. weight of cotton, which will give . . . . .	lbs. 500,000
200,000 it is estimated are sold into adjacent countries, as far as the Bonny and New Calabar eastward, and the Mahee and Borgoo countries westward. These are of a coarser and heavier description, to suit the tastes of the natives of those countries, and contain, at least, 3½ lbs. weight of cotton each . . . . .	700,000
And for clothing 1,500,000 of population, the weight of 4 lbs. of cotton each will not be an over-estimate of the quantity required, as woollen manufactures are unknown in these countries . . . . .	6,000,000
Total . . . . .	7,200,000

It may, therefore, be fairly estimated that the cultivation of cotton in Yoruba and the adjoining States is equal to 7,200,000 lbs.: Whenever the cotton fabrics of Manchester and Glasgow are introduced, by way of the Niger, to the upper parts of the Yoruba and adjoining countries, the natives of those countries will find it cheaper and more advantageous to sell their cotton, and clothe themselves with the

lighter, but infinitely cheaper, cloths of Manchester and Glasgow; and in order to obtain the many (to them) new and useful articles which English commerce will, for the first time, introduce to them, they will be induced to extend the cultivation of cotton, and the search after those natural productions of the country which they did not before know possessed a value.

If it were attempted to introduce the cultivation of coffee among the people of the interior, great difficulty would be met with. It would be to them a new thing, and the objection, universal with Africans, would be started, that their fathers before them never cultivated coffee. But the greatest obstacle to the cultivation of that berry would be, that it requires care, attention, and intelligence, and the native would have to wait three, four, and five years before he obtained any return for his labour. Possessing no capital but his own labour and that of his slaves, he will always prefer cultivating that which will give him a speedy return for his labour. We can, therefore, only look to cotton as an agricultural marketable production to be obtained from the interior.

In all the alluvial delta countries bordering on the long line of lagoons which run for so many miles close to the sea-shore, the cultivation of the ground-nut might advantageously be encouraged, the soil being most favourably adapted for it, and the tranquil surface of the lagoons and creeks offering so easy and cheap a means of transport. The great obstacle to be encountered by the merchants in the shipment of ground-nuts will be the surf on the beach, but means could be found to overcome this, as cargoes of these nuts are now being shipped from places on the Gold Coast, on the shores of which the surf breaks heavily. The great obstacle to be met with by the cultivators, is the alarm and insecurity frequently occasioned by the threatened hostile movements of the old Slave-Trade miscreant monarchs of these parts, the King of Dahomey and Kosoko, who, encouraged by the old slave-dealers remaining on the coast, do not abandon the hope of having the Slave Trade revived.

The importation of British cotton manufactures in this part of Africa has, as yet, been to an extent below the wants of commerce, yet their effect in supplanting the use of the native fabrics among the population of Abbeokuta is already felt by the numerous weavers in that large town, who begin to find that the primitive looms and shuttles used by them—the same as their forefathers brought with them from Egypt many ages since, time having wrought no change, no improvement in a people shut out from all intercourse with other peoples who have made gradual, and some rapid, advances in civilization, and who, until lately, never looked upon the face of the white man—cannot compete with the leviathan power of steam and the ingenious inventions of Europeans. Many years will, therefore, not elapse, ere the natives will find it more advantageous to sell their cotton

to the white man, receiving a portion of it back for their own wants in a better, and very much cheaper, manufactured state.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

B. CAMPBELL.

#### Inclosure in No. 1.

#### *Report on the Trade of the Bight of Benin for the Year 1856.*

The great staple of the commerce of the Bight of Benin is now palm oil; ivory is the next article in value exported; and cotton, which is now being extensively cultivated around Abbeokuta, forms the third.

There have been exported from Lagos, during the year ending December 31, 1856, the following quantities of the above commodities:

		Average value in Europe during the year 1856.	
			£
Palm Oil	3,884 tons	45l. per ton	174,780
Ivory	16,057 lbs.	4s. per lb.	3,211
Cotton	33,491 „	6d. per lb.	837
			£178,828

In consequence of the dearth of shipping, and the tempestuous weather which has prevailed during so many months of the last year, rendering it impracticable to ship palm oil by the packets during their short stay off Lagos, about 300 tons of palm oil, of the purchase of 1856, remain to be shipped. The above quantity of ivory, on which duty has been paid, by no means correctly represents the quantity exported from Lagos; it being notorious that more than one-half the quantity exported is smuggled on board the ships in the roadstead, to avoid the duty.

The readiness with which the inhabitants of the large town of Abbeokuta have extended their cultivation of the cotton-plant, merits the favourable notice of the manufacturer, of the philanthropist, and, as a means of supplanting the Slave Trade, by its turning the attention of the native to the value of the soil, and of human labour, of Her Majesty's Government. The same difficulty which attended its first cultivation in the United States, some seventy years since, is now experienced by the Abbeokutan cultivators—the want of machines to clean it, separate the seed from the fibre. In consequence of this difficulty but a very small proportion of the cotton cultivated around Abbeokuta has as yet been prepared for shipment.

The quantities of palm oil shipped from other ports in the Bight of Benin during the year 1856, are, as nearly as can be ascertained, as follows:



	Tons.	Average Value in England during the Year.
		£
From the Benin River . . . . .	2,500	112,500
From Palma and its neighbourhood . . . . .	2,250	101,250
From Badagry . . . . .	1,250	96,250
From Porto Novo and other ports between Badagry and Whydah . . . . .	4,000	180,000
From Whydah . . . . .	2,500	112,500
From Aghwey and neighbouring ports . . . . .	1,500	67,500
From various ports to the United States . . . . .	300	13,500
Total (including Lagos, 178,828 <i>l</i> .) . . . . .		£862,328

The above trade is carried on under the English, Hamburg, French, Sardinian, and Portuguese flags, and, to a small extent, under the American flag. The trade of the Benin river is wholly English; that at Palma is almost solely carried on under the French and Hamburg flags; that at Lagos, under English, Hamburg, French, Sardinian, and a small quantity under the flag of Portugal. The trade of the remainder of the Bight of Benin is carried on principally under the English, French, and Hamburg flags; those of Holland, Sardinia, and Portugal, enjoying a small portion.

The European manufactures employed in this commerce, under all flags, are, principally, the cotton fabrics of Manchester and Glasgow; the hardware of Birmingham and other towns; gunpowder, earthenware, silks, with velvet—both silk and cotton,—coral, and a small quantity of beads, of Venetian and Bohemian manufacture. At Lagos, Palma, and Whydah, it is necessary to import the cowrie-shell, it being the currency of the country; and the inferior quality obtained at Zanzibar, which is, however, only current in the Yoruba and Dahomian countries, is imported, by the French and Hamburg houses, to the extent of about 2500 tons annually.

From Bahia, in the Brazils, are imported large quantities of roll-tobacco and aguardiente, principally in vessels under the flags of Sardinia and Portugal, the flag of Brazil being now rarely or never seen on this coast. Most of the Sardinian, and the larger class of Portuguese vessels employed in this trade, after disposing of their outward cargoes, load palm oil for Europe, and for England principally; the smaller class of Portuguese vessels usually return to Bahia ballasted with palm oil, and carrying some of the coarse native-manufactured cloths of the Yoruba and Housa countries, which meet a ready sale among the Africans throughout the Brazils, on account of their durability, and probably, also,

on account of imparting reminiscences of their former homes and country.

The French and Hamburg houses having establishments at Whydah and Lagos, employ small vessels of their own to make the voyage from the coast to Brazil, and to bring them supplies of tobacco and aguardiente. It is difficult to ascertain the exact quantities of these two commodities sold in the Bight of Benin, as the Sardinian and Portuguese vessels laden with them usually strike the coast at the most windward or western fort on the Gold Coast, and then proceed eastward as far as Lagos; but it has been estimated that at least 35,000 rolls of tobacco, and 2,000 pipes of aguardiente, have been imported this year; the value of the former being six dollars the roll, and of the latter seventy dollars the pipe. Roll tobacco was formerly, and still is, the principal medium of payment for slaves; a large quantity is carried into the interior, and the ivory now finding its way to the sea-coast is mostly purchased with that article.

This important legitimate trade in the Bight of Benin is, comparatively, of modern date. Twenty years since it was a fact, established by respectable testimony in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Sierra Leone, that there was not one puncheon of palm oil shipped in the year in the Bight of Benin. Fifteen years since, the late Mr. Thomas Hutton, after incurring a loss of 800*l*. for demurrage, obtained about thirty tons of palm oil from Whydah, the powerful influence of the late Cha-cha, and other extensive slave-traders, having been used to obtain this quantity, in order to pay for Mr. Hutton's cargo (rum), which they greatly needed at the time. About the same time, small Liverpool trading-vessels entered the Benin river, and after considerable detention and great efforts, obtained partial cargoes of oil, filling up with gum-copal and other commodities; and twelve years since, the Hamburg house engaged in the Lagos trade had great difficulty in obtaining sufficient palm oil to ballast the small vessels they then employed.

The rapid development of the legitimate commercial resources of this part of Africa demonstrates the enormous wrong done by the Slave Trade in staying, for so many years, the great natural resources of the country, and tearing away, by violence and fraud, its inhabitants, to cultivate, under the pressure of the lash in foreign lands, those very productions which the climate and soil of his own country are equally capable of producing, by that natural incentive to labour, the prospect of reaping and enjoying its fruits.

(Signed) B. CAMPBELL, Consul.

No. 2.

Consul Campbell to the Earl of Clarendon.—  
(Received May 14.)

(Extract.) Lagos, March 14, 1857.

In the "Times" newspaper of December 18, 1856, the editor concludes a leading article on

the probable advantages of the travels and discoveries of Dr. Livingston, thus :

"We would that we had grounds before us on which we could reasonably come to the conclusion that the opening up of Africa means the extinction of slavery. The one great service which the world demands from the negro race is the production of cotton. The constitution of the white man seems unfitted for labour under the peculiar conditions of place and atmosphere requisite for the cultivation of this necessary staple. Now, granting that in Africa may be found localities in abundance admirably adapted for the growth of cotton, and that in Africa, too, labour, if properly applied, is forthcoming in abundance, will the negro cultivate the soil with the certainty of purpose and regularity of result necessary for commercial purposes? Even if, contrary to our present expectation, this should be so, will not the negro proprietor employ the compulsory labour of slaves? Will not the only result obtained be a change in the venue of slavery from the Southern States of the American Union to the vast territory of Africa? We do not assume to speak upon sufficient grounds, and should be glad, therefore, to hear the conclusions upon so important a matter at which an eyewitness, such as Dr. Livingston undoubtedly is, may have arrived."

I beg, my Lord, to submit the following observations on the above paragraph, founded on a lengthened commercial experience with the trading natives of the interior of tropical Africa, many of whom travel to the Settlements on the Western Coast from considerable distances, several hundred miles, on their trading pursuits; through whom I have obtained a tolerably accurate knowledge of the resources and productions of the countries in the interior.

The whole of the countries in the western interior of Africa do, and have for very many generations, cultivated the cotton-plant, and have clothed and do still clothe themselves with its product. Many of these countries, such as Bambarra, manufacture thousands of heavy cotton-cloths, which are sold in other parts, and many of them find their way to the towns on the sea-coast, where they are purchased for domestic purposes, on account of their strength and durability, and their permanency of colour from an excellent native indigo dye, which no number of washings will fade.

Other countries on the north-west coast, such as the Cahboo, between the Gambia and the Jeba, or Bissou, rivers; and the Kussou country, east of the Sherbro; manufacture large quantities of coarse undyed cloths, and make a considerable trade with them to those tribes inhabiting the immediate seaboard countries who do not cultivate the cotton-plant. They are prized by the inhabitants of these low damp countries on account of the warmth imparted by their weight and thickness. There is not a tribe or country in the interior of Africa, from latitude 16° north to the equator, who do not cultivate cotton more or

less; and who do not clothe themselves, in great part (many of those in the far interior altogether so), with cotton fabrics of their own growth and manufacture. There are many countries, not 200 miles from the seaboard, whose populations go decently clothed, but who have as yet never seen a piece of Manchester or Glasgow cotton fabric. It is only in those localities where the Slave Trade has been greatly suppressed, and which possess navigable rivers, such as the Senegal, the Gambia, the Jeba, the Nunez, and the Sierra Leone and its neighbours, that the fabrics of Manchester and Glasgow have as yet penetrated; and even in those countries they are at present only used for holiday or ornamental purposes, the coarse strong manufactured cloth of the country forming the ordinary and working dress of the inhabitants. Some of the finer descriptions of Manchester calicoes, such as shirtings of pure finish, do find their way from Sierra Leone and the neighbouring Settlements, at great expense of land carriage, to Sego, where they are bought up by the Moorish traders and dignitaries of Bambarra and the adjoining countries, and are dyed with the indigo of those countries. But the districts where cotton has been, and still is, the most extensively cultivated, notwithstanding the irruptions of the Felatahs and the disorganization caused by the Slave Trade, are the countries of Houssa, Nuffi, Yoruba, and others watered by the Niger and its tributaries; for, notwithstanding the Slave Trade, and the insecurity to both life, liberty, and property which such a traffic induced, these countries have still continued not only to clothe their own populations, but the populations of neighbouring countries likewise, and also to furnish many thousands of their cloths for exportation to Brazil.

Now, it is from the above countries, and from those having easy access to the sea-coast by rivers falling into the lagoons running along the Bight of Benin, that we have the best prospects of obtaining a supply of cotton. We have not to lead or persuade the people of these countries into undertaking any thing new to them; all that is required is to be prepared to purchase from them the surplus cotton they do not require for their own use, and, by paying them a fair price for it, encourage them to extend its cultivation; and, by introducing the lighter, and to them infinitely cheaper, fabrics of Manchester, lead to their being used even on economical considerations. We should be prepared to supply to the Chiefs and others who may be induced to cultivate largely, machines for rapidly cleaning the cotton from the seed, as such men would perceive the advantage of obtaining the higher price for the cleaned cotton. This must be attended to, and therefore necessitates the employment of a moderate capital. The Chiefs and leading men of Abbeokuta, who have extended the cultivation of cotton as an article of commerce, are in vain applying for cleaning-machines, for which they are prepared to pay the value in cotton on receipt of them.



If any mercantile expedition is preparing to ascend the Niger, it should be provided with simple, but effective, machines for cleaning cotton, and a press and materials for packing it for shipment; for after the expedition has ascended beyond the Ibo country, it will pass through extensive cotton-growing countries.

From the above observations, which are founded, not on theory or hypothesis, but on personal experience and extensive inquiry on the spot, it is fair to expect that a moderate and increasing supply of cotton may be obtained from certain districts on the west coast of Africa.

The African has immense advantages over the natives of India in the cultivation of cotton for purposes of export: he has no Company, and, at present, no landlord Chief to pay rent to for his land; no zemindar, or middle-man, to screw from him a large share of the produce of his toil. I never yet heard of rent being paid for land in Western Africa, not even in those countries where the arable portion of it is limited. Where a Chief is the recognised owner of the soil, it is the custom, when a man wishes to make a farm or plantation, to take a small present to the Chief for permission to clear so much land as the applicant may require—a permission never refused, as the Chief is gratified with this admission of his sovereign rights; nor are any questions asked as to the quantity of land required, nor limit fixed—as much is cleared as is required. Doubtless, in time, when the great bulk of the population is engaged in agricultural pursuits, and considerable moral progress has been made by the introduction of Christianity and legitimate commerce, and that scourge the Slave Trade no longer annually decimating the population, its great increase, and the beneficial influences exercised upon it, will lead to a value being put on land capable of being cultivated, and that Chiefs and others will then assert sovereign or proprietor rights, and demand fixed rents for land; but many years must elapse ere this improved state of things is reached, certainly not till the Slave Trade itself shall have become a legend of past times to the African.

It may be observed, all this is very good, but cotton grown in Africa is still the produce of slave-labour. This I admit to be, to a great extent, the case; but there is an immeasurable distance, and a wide difference in effect and influence, between the compulsory labour of the African slave in a foreign country, the property of the white man, and his forced labour in the country of his birth, and the property of his own countryman. In the former case, he is in a foreign country, estranged from his home, his family, and every natural tie, with scarcely even the sympathy of his fellow slave, who may be from some part of Africa distant from his own former home; he is the property of a white man, who looks upon him as worth so much money, and whose sole interest is to exact daily all the labour possible out of him under the terror of a whip, wielded probably by the brawny arm of a fellow-African; all hope of re-

gaining his freedom and his country are for ever lost, and he becomes an abject machine—a mere animal in human form.

Very different is the fate of the African who becomes a slave to one of his own countrymen, and in the land of his birth. He never loses the hope of being one day restored to his home and country, either through the instrumentality of his friends and family redeeming him, or, in utter despair of that, and under harsh treatment, of trusting to his limbs and his ingenuity to again regaining his liberty and home. Should his master be, like himself, a heathen, there is, probably, no intellectual difference between them, and none assumed. His master and himself work in the same field, frequently they eat out of the same bowl, and the slave is regarded as a member of the family. His state of subjection not being onerous, he gets reconciled to it, particularly if (as is the common custom of the heathen slave-proprietor) his master purchases for him a female slave as his wife and companion.

But very different is the case should an unhappy captive be sold to a Mahomedan master, and he be kept for domestic use, or for agricultural purposes. The Mahomedan, ignorant, probably, as his heathen slave, yet assumes a decided intellectual superiority over him; the little he has learnt of the dogmas of the Prophet leads him to regard his slave as no better than a quadruped, and the unfortunate slave's position is indeed a hard one: still, he is in Africa, and not separated from it by, to him, an impassable ocean, and there is a limit to the cruel and oppressive treatment of his master.

The Mahomedan Foulahs of Footah Jallon, on possessing themselves of the country they now occupy, annually carried war into the surrounding Pagan countries, enslaving all that fell into their power. Some of the unfortunate captives were sold to the slave-dealers on the coast for muskets, gunpowder, and other means to enable them to carry on their cruel razzias; some were kept for domestic and for agricultural purposes. In a few years they possessed themselves of many thousands of their Pagan neighbours, and, besides keeping them in a debased position, exacted severe toil from them.

The country of Footah Jallon is an open country, hilly, but containing good pasturage for many thousand heads of a pretty breed of cattle; but it is surrounded by forest countries, and into the depths of these forests fled the pagan Chiefs and natives from the razzias and persecutions of the Foulahs. No sooner did the adult slaves of the Foulahs find their position galling and unbearable, than they fled to these forests, and were welcomed by the Chiefs and people who had sought refuge in them, their numbers and strength being thereby increased; and when I left that part of Africa there were no less than four places of refuge to which the oppressed slaves of Footah Jallon fled, to regain their liberty—Kabatafin on the west, Bannah on the south-west, Koondiah and Woolleh Bambyah

on the north-east and south-east. For several years the Foulahs attacked these strongholds, in the hope of breaking them up, or recapturing their runaway slaves, always without success.

When, some twenty years since, respectable English establishments were formed at Kykandy, on the River Nunez, which attracted a considerable and valuable trade from the countries beyond Footah Jallon, and the Foulahs not only profited by the transit of this trade through their country, but entered largely into legitimate trade themselves, their country producing many useful and valuable articles of commerce before unknown or disregarded by them, they gave up the hope of regaining their lost slaves by capture, and found that to keep slaves in their service they must treat them with some humanity and consideration.

About a century since two large bodies of Foulahs migrated from Massina, taking a westerly course: one of these bodies settled in that country now called Footah Toro, on the left bank of the Senegal; the other took a more south-westerly direction, and at length settled in the country now called Footah Jallon. In the course of their migration the Foulahs dislodged many of the natives from the countries laying in their route; among others the people of Bambouk, and some other countries, whose energies and intelligence had never been deadened and debased by immediate contact with the Slave Trade of the coast, and with that slow-poison trade—rum. One body of these people, pressed on by the Foulahs, at length settled on the banks of the Fourikariah and Melicouri rivers, about forty miles north of Sierra Leone; these, in their turn, dislodged the original inhabitants, the Bulloms, who passed over to the left bank of the Melicouri river, and have since suffered no further encroachments on their territory from their energetic neighbours.

An English colony being soon after founded at Sierra Leone, prevented the spread of the Slave Trade from its old haunts, the Rivers Nunez and Pongas, to the Melicouri and Fourikariah rivers; and the wants and commerce of the colony soon afforded employment to the inhabitants of the last-named rivers: they cultivated rice, opened a trade with the interior people, and soon made large profits in their intercourse with Sierra Leone; these they invested in the purchase of slaves, from whom they exacted the utmost amount of labour. Having professed the religion of Mahomet, either when in their former country to propitiate their then neighbours the Moors, or, subsequently, to reconcile the Foulahs, they treated their unfortunate slaves with great harshness, and even indignity, never allowing them to leave the plantations; they were not even permitted to wear clothing, and their masters never addressed them by their names, always using the harsh term of "slave" when addressing them, and women were not allowed on the plantations. Their condition was therefore similar to that

of the unfortunate slaves on the modern sugar-plantations in Cuba.

This painful state of slavery lasted until about ten years since, when, on the introduction of the ground-nut trade into those countries, a great change took place. The former agricultural commerce in rice was limited to a few hundred tons annually; but the new commerce in ground-nuts was, by the great demand for them, extended to thousands of tons per annum.

The cultivation of the ground nut not requiring great manual labour, all classes participate in it; even the unfortunate slaves found means to cultivate them unknown to their masters, and they also found opportunities to sell the produce of their secret labour, at the many small sub-factories established throughout the country, for the purchase and collection of the ground nut. The possession of a little property stimulated them to acquire more, and hopes of regaining their freedom now began to dawn upon them; these hopes, as their means increased, led to their purchasing the means of defence.

About the time alluded to, a master spirit shewed himself in that country, to inspire, to encourage, and to lead these long-suffering slaves to liberty.

A man named Bilarly, the son of a Chief by one of his slave women, who had been tenderly reared by his father, found on the death of his parent that he was spurned by his late father's other children and his family, as being slave-born. In this country, as in all other countries where slavery exists, the condition of the offspring follows that of the mother. Bilarly, stung with the treatment he received, put himself in secret communication with the large bodies of slaves, many of whom having purchased arms, were able to defend themselves, and on an appointed night, a body of several hundred, with their leader Bilarly, fled to a forest country in the Limbar country, at the head of the Scarcies river; here they strengthened their position and built numerous small villages in easy communication one with the other. The example thus set, bodies of 200 and 300 of the slaves at a time, belonging to the people of Fourikariah and Melicouri, have, from time to time, emancipated themselves, and sought refuge with Bilarly and when I left Sierra Leone in 1853, to assume my duties here, he was supposed to have at least 3000 followers, all runaway slaves.

The people of Melicouri and Fourikariah, finding it impossible to keep adults in a state of slavery, consented to allow those who did not seek to escape, to work out their own freedom, by the produce of their labour; and instead of adults they now purchase, from the Sherbro and Gallinas countries, children of both sexes, to cultivate the ground-nut; calculating that, by the time that they have arrived at an adult age, and have imbibed the desire to be free, they will have obtained some years of labour from them, and that rather than lose the value of them, they will allow them to purchase their



freedom with the fruit of their labour, which many will prefer to do, as they can then consider themselves at liberty to proceed whither they please.

The Yorubas are, for the most part, a pagan people, but the followers of Mahomet are beginning to be perceptibly numerous among them, even at Abbeokuta. At that town, where a hopeful commencement has been made to cultivate cotton for export, the comparatively small extent to which this additional cultivation of the cotton-plant has been yet carried, begins to give signs of its influence. The cultivation of cotton around Abbeokuta is principally undertaken by the heathen Chiefs and others, and the native converts to Christianity. In prosecuting this labour even to its present small extent, the value of human labour has become so apparent, that the Chiefs and other large holders of slaves, foreseeing the effect it will have on their minds, have already given to them spontaneously, some one, some two, and some even three, days in the week to work for themselves. It therefore seems to be the natural effect in this country of any commerce, based on the cultivation of the soil, to unshackle the bonds of the slave, not to tighten them; and that if any attempts be made by the Mahometan African, to urge an undue amount of labour from his slaves, finding the whole country open to them, and sure of the sympathy of their countrymen, that they (the slaves) will make a vigorous effort to obtain their freedom, and, obtaining it, be ready to risk their existence to secure it.

There is, therefore, a very distant prospect that the man of iron will and desperate energy will leave the country of vigilance committees, bowie knives, and revolvers, to cultivate cotton in Africa by compulsory labour: no European will ever attempt it. The native rulers and land proprietors in Africa will grant readily to the merchant or trader, or to the Missionary, as much ground as they may require for their establishments, usually rent free; a small present only being requisite as an acknowledgment of sovereign territorial rights: but if any white man were to apply for ground for a plantation, I feel certain it would be refused; the request would excite surprise and suspicion, it would appear to the suspicious minds of the native as an attempt to acquire territory.

If an attempt were made, and permission given to the white man to form a plantation on the seaboard, cultivating the same with the compulsory labour of the slave, he would have to encounter such hostile influences as would soon induce him to abandon the undertaking; and before embarking his capital at a distance from the seaboard, among people to whom the face of the white man is, and will be for some years to come, a novelty, his natural foresight would suggest to him that he would have no security against the escape of his slaves; none against the caprice and extortion of the natives, who, upon any fancied or real wrong done to them, might destroy his plantation in an hour; or, that

if even escaping these contingencies, and meeting with success, whether, upon his decease, the native Chiefs would not share his property among them.

I have only known of one attempt, and that upon a small scale, made by an European to form a plantation with slave-labour; and that was by a Portuguese slave-trader, who went by the name of José. He was for a time successful in his Slave Trade, but the operations of the treaty with Spain of 1835 gave an adverse turn to his fortunes. With the wreck of his gains, about 100 doubloons, he betook himself to the Rio Pongas, the locality of many of his successful transactions, where, being a favourite with the Chiefs, he obtained from them the use of several acres of ground for his plantation, and he invested his small capital in the purchase of able-bodied slaves; these he thought he could force to labour, as he knew was the practice in Cuba and Brazil, by the terror of the lash. This method of extorting an unusual amount of labour from his slaves, was remonstrated against by his neighbours and by the Chiefs. José paid no heed to such remonstrances; the slaves were his property, bought with his money, and he considered he had a right to do as he pleased with them. José learnt, but too late, that what the African slave will submit to when in a far distant country, he will resent in his own; he continued his floggings, till one day his slaves rose upon and massacred him. Under ordinary circumstances, the fearful penalty of a slave killing his master is to be burnt alive. The Chiefs, however, knowing well the cruel character of José towards his slaves, had him buried, and shared his slaves among themselves. That the fate of José would be that of the Simon Legrees who might attempt the cultivation of cotton in Africa, by the same cruel and compulsory process as that in use in the Southern States of the American Union, there can be little doubt, and I feel convinced it will never be attempted.

After having for more than forty years waged a great moral war against that monstrous injustice, the Slave Trade, with a perseverance and a determination of purpose which only the justice and humanity of the object sought to be obtained, together with the desire to atone for the active part formerly taken by ourselves in this cruel traffic, at a great cost of treasure and life, frequently to the very verge of drawing upon ourselves war from foreign Powers, could justify—a struggle that history, ancient or modern, presents no parallel to, and which future generations only will fully appreciate; and, being now in sight of a victory, it will be considered incumbent on Her Majesty's Government, to give every encouragement to the development of the great agricultural resources possessed by Africa, in order to secure and render permanent the victory gained over the Slave Trade, and so shut out all prospect of its revival. It is also the duty of those Societies and Associations, which have given their moral support to Her Majesty's Government throughout this long and interesting

struggle, to aid, by their influence and their capital, the efforts of Her Majesty's Government to this end.

From the year 1784 to 1791, only 64 bales of cotton were brought from the United States of America to England. In the years 1855 and 1856 the town of Abbeokuta alone has exported 249 bales, or 38,695 lbs., to England.\* The same obstacle which at first impeded the progress of cotton in the United States—the want of machinery to clean and prepare large quantities for export—operates now against its more extensive export from Africa, no one having yet ventured to embark capital in the trade. Twenty years since there had never been known to be exported from the Bight of Benin a puncheon of palm oil: small quantities had been made by the natives from all time for personal use. This year there will be exported from the Bight of Benin 20,000 tons, equal to 50,000 puncheons of palm oil. Why, then, should there exist any doubt as to the capability of Africa to produce cotton for export, if the same means to encourage the extension of its cultivation are used—the employment of capital?

I have now submitted to your Lordship my opinion, founded on personal inquiries and experience during a long residence in Africa, on those points on which the editor of the "Times" seeks for information from Dr. Livingston. Although my travels in the interior of Africa have never exceeded 100 miles from the sea coast, I do not think the editor will reject my information, and the results of my experience on that account. At any rate I entertain the hope that they will be favourably received and considered by your Lordship.

P.S.—Since closing my despatch I have received a price-current from a Manchester firm, who manufacture goods suitable for the African trade. In it forty-four different articles are enumerated, of which no less than ten are imitations of the native cloths, manufactured in the interior of Africa, which command a ready sale on the coast; and fifteen are imitations of the cotton fabrics of India, which country, before the inventions of Arkwright, furnished the finer descriptions of cotton goods for the African trade, at that time consisting principally of human beings for export to America and its tropical countries, a little gold-dust, and ivory.

In addition to the foregoing information on this deeply-interesting subject, we commend to our friends the subjoined letter from Mr. Thomas Clegg, of Manchester, addressed to the editor of the *Manchester Examiner and Times*, and published subsequently in the 4th of September number of the *Journal of the Society of Arts*. Whilst many others have been talking, Mr. Clegg has been doing.

\* In 1855, 26 bales, or 5200 lbs; in 1856, 223 bales, or 33,495 lbs.

SIR,—Letters upon the cotton question pour in from all quarters, and almost every one can tell us where we may get it, but few set about doing it. I would rather see one bale of cotton from a new country than a thousand letters and speeches. Your correspondent *Anti-Slavery*, however, says it is useless now to look to India for supply, and he sees no grounds for expecting it from Africa; and whilst he holds up Jamaica as the place from which to supply our wants, and states that there is much labour available for cotton cultivation there, he immediately cries out for an importation of Africans for that purpose. Your correspondent *Lex* holds up Australia as a cotton field, but says it would have to be confined to the Sea-Island quality, on account of the same want of labour. A *Stranger*, apparently also in the Jamaica interest, asks for 30,000*l.* to be raised, and estimates that 20 per cent. profit may be realized. I would not disparage any cotton field, nor discourage any rational scheme, but rather lend a helping hand, so far as possible, to all. One correspondent says, that four or five years ago a great stir was made in Jamaica, and cotton grown by many persons on a small scale; but that when the cotton was ripe, as they had no gins to clean or presses to pack it, and the quantity in individual cases was too small to ship on their own account, and as no capitalist took it up, the movement was abandoned. For his encouragement, therefore, I will undertake to purchase at its market value, clean, pack, and ship, in any quantity, such experimental lots of cotton as before could not be sold, and shall be obliged if he will at once put me into communication with the planters. In answer to *Anti-Slavery* not expecting cotton from India or Africa—First: I believe he is wrong in not expecting it from India, for I view the present outbreak as only a temporary derangement, whilst it is evidently a crisis that will ensure the future better government of India, either by the forfeiture of the charter or otherwise. Why is it that fewer than 400 Europeans, besides officials, are settled amongst a population of their fellow-subjects of upwards of 130,000,000 in India, and that neither capital nor enterprise flow in that direction? Next I would say a word for the African. Almost wherever cotton will grow the cry is, send us the African to cultivate it; and perhaps in no other country except India is there labour on the spot in any abundance. Africa, like India, is the home of the plant as well as the planter. Dr. Livingstone found it abundant in the east; from the west I am getting it now rather largely; at Tunis, on the north, I and others have just established a company; on the south, also, cotton abounds, and I am attempting to introduce the system that has succeeded so well in the west.

Africa is as prolific in population as in the produce of the soil; the inhabitants are so industrious and docile, that the kidnappers of the world wish to steal and possess them. And as we have, at great sacrifice of time and money, set free great numbers of Africans at Sierra Leone, where at least 150 languages are spoken, besides innumerable dialects; and as these men and their children are educated in Missionary schools, and are gradually working their way



back to their own country; and as it is supposed that something like 100,000 have already settled at Abbeokuta, on the very borders of the great Yoruba cotton district, where, Mr. Consul Campbell says, 70,000,000 lbs. are annually consumed by them in their own domestic manufactures; and as they are all anxious for employment, are industrious and keen traders, having seen the advantage of it at Sierra Leone; why should we not encourage them to cultivate cotton, palm oil, ground nuts, arrowroot, and a thousand other articles that their own country abounds with, and which they are willing to supply? Let us insist on their enjoying that freedom and liberty which our money and cruisers have so nobly entitled them to. An expedition has been arranged, which will go up the Niger twice every year, for five years, once yearly at the risk of the contractors.

The Benin and Brass Rivers, as well as Lagos and Abbeokuta, will be important stations.

Good cotton, equal to average

American, can be bought in the seed at.....  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  per lb.

4lb. of which will make 1 lb. of clean cotton.....  $2d.$  „

It can be cleaned at the rate of 30lb. for  $4d.$ , or  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  per lb., say.....  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  „

Packing and canvas.....  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  „

Carriage and charges on board.....  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  „

Freight to England.....  $1d.$  „

Charges in England.....  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  „

Or  $4\frac{1}{2}d.$  per lb.—which is at this moment worth  $8\frac{1}{2}d.$  to  $8\frac{3}{4}d.$  in Liverpool.

Under the guidance, and with the advice of the Rev. H. Venn, the Native-Agency Committee, and Church Missionary Society, I have been enabled to send out 119 cotton gins—have five more ready, and fifty coming in, making 174 in the whole, besides one horse gin, two boats, and other matters.

The Native Agency Committee have provided and sent out one hydraulic, and three large screw packing-presses, and a resident trader has just ordered another, and sent upwards of 80l. worth of palm oil to pay for it.

Government has undertaken several important works in India, and is rendering very valuable assistance in various parts of the world, at the request of the Cotton Supply Association. The Association is working energetically, as well as judiciously, is doing great good, and deserves both general and liberal support.

I have received at Lagos, from the interior of Africa, since Christmas last, from 500 to 600 bales of cotton, notwithstanding two large fires, in which great quantities of cotton have been consumed, and although the attention of the chiefs is again taken from the cotton work by intestine wars, which are said to be fomented by parties who wish to destroy the rising trade in cotton.

Let spinners and others, therefore, who are anxious to increase our cotton supplies, send out agents to buy it in Africa, and encourage a trade, which, in my opinion, is destined, at no distant period, effectually to relieve our wants, and supersede slavery.

To those who prefer India, or any other part

of the world, I equally say, Make arrangements to bring it, and thus save many from ruin and want. I have now to apologise for the length of this attempt to produce action, instead of talking and writing.—I am, &c.,

Manchester.

THOMAS CLEGG.

### THE CUBAN SLAVE TRADE.

THE slave-trade to Cuba still flourishes, as is evident from the following extracts from the *Times* of the 4th ultimo.

“The *Antelope* had taken a brigantine off Whydah with 70 slaves on board, and in the act of shipping more at the time of capture. A great number of vessels, fully equipped for the slave-trade, are cruising off the coast, evidently waiting a chance to ship their cargoes, but under American colours. On April 16th, as the *Prometheus* was on her passage from Lagos to St. Thomas's, she fell in with and captured the *Adam Grey*, a fine new brigantine, under Spanish colours, and no papers, with specie to the amount of 4380l. sterling concealed on board, intended for the purchase of slaves. She was condemned a lawful prize to the *Prometheus* in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Sierra-Leone, on the 18th May, and is considered the richest prize brought into that port.”

The following is from the same journal, of the 8th ultimo, and is from a correspondent at Havana:

“The slave-trade flourishes amazingly. I have heard of four or five cargoes of Bozal negroes having been landed since I last wrote you. The last but one, beyond Trinidad de Cuba, 600 in number, has been seized by Brigadier Morales de Reda, who happened to be in that vicinity, and who also made prisoners of all the parties concerned in the landing. They, with the Africans, are now on the way to this city. This certainly has the appearance of an attempt to put a stop to the African slave-trade. The last cargo of Bozals was landed on a quay near Santa Cruz. It had been found impossible to effect their landing without detection on the mainland of this island, and so they were landed on the quay. There is an improbable report that the steam-ship *Pajaro del Oceano* (Ocean Bird), now in this harbour, is being fitted up for a trip to the African coast. She would carry from 1400 to 1600 negroes, and, with her unrivalled speed, could bid defiance to any British cruiser afloat. Three more American vessels have been sold to the Spaniards, and will most probably be employed in the slave-trade. Two have already sailed with a ‘sea letter,’ under the United-States-flag.”

In addition to the above, we append the following extract from a private letter to the Editor of the *New-York Herald* of the 10th of August, dated from Trinidad de Cuba, July 12th ult. The mistake made by the writer of the above letter, respecting the share that we have taken in advocating the “plans” referred to, will not mislead our friends on this side of the Atlantic, nor those who read our journal. If we call attention to it at all, it is for the purpose of dwelling upon the opinion of the writer as to

the inefficacy of the new gun-boat system, and which, it will be observed, coincides with our own.

"With respect to the plans submitted to Lord Palmerston by the Earl of Shaftesbury and other worthy gentlemen of the *British Anti-Slavery Society*, for the abolition of the African Slave-trade, as reported in the *London Times* of the 12th ultimo, to which you call my attention, I would say, they are well conceived, but utterly impracticable at present.

"I have had fifteen years' experience of the Cuban slave-traders and know them well; I do not hesitate to say that if the British Government ever were to place a cordon of vessels of war around Cuba, the only effect it would have—unless the Island authorities were made to co-operate with the ships—would be to increase the value of the venture, because of the greater risk of the trader, whose cupidity would thus become stimulated to new, but never failing, expedients to effect a landing of his miserable victims.

"There is but one way to put an end to this infamous traffic. It is simple, but will be found to answer the purpose desired. Let slave-trading with Africa be declared piracy throughout the world; and in the words of Eugenio V——s, the most notorious Spanish slave-trader of the present day, 'few sailors will be found willing to risk their necks against a bag of dollars.'

"It is well known that this horrible traffic is now almost entirely confined to the Spanish colonies. Spain, although strongly urged, has never consented to follow the example of the European and other governments, to declare the inhuman trade piracy; but the reason for her so refusing must be obvious to the whole world."

#### HAYTI AND THE HAYTIANS.

WE have, on more than one occasion, commented upon the statements that are being constantly made by journals of a pro-slavery stamp, and reproduced by others in this country having a similar bias, with a view to mislead public opinion as to the real position of Hayti. In the United States especially these calumnious rumours are widely spread, and we are greatly pleased to find the *New-York Tribune* taking up the subject, and endeavouring to spread more truthful information. The subjoined article from a recent Number of that valuable journal is extremely interesting, and is inspired with the right spirit.

"The *New-York Express* is one of a large class of journals that make a practice of being 'as much opposed to Slavery as anybody,' but condemning the violent proceedings and diatribes of the Abolitionists, because they tend to postpone, if not prevent, the triumph of emancipation. Yet that same *Express* is incessantly poisoning the public mind by paragraphs like this:

"'HAYTI AND THE HAYTIANS.—Another Utopia of negro freedom presents a feature, if possible, worse than Jamaica. The Haytians, though living under one of the harshest and most despotic of Governments, nevertheless love

so well the theory of freedom, we see that they are about to subject sugar made by slave-labour to a duty four times as large as that made by free-labour.

"'Hayti emancipated itself some seventy years ago, amid horrors that made the world shiver, and then they, as slaves (the Haytians), exported one hundred and fifty million pounds of sugar, but now not one pound. On the contrary, they are importers of sugar, we see! As with sugar, so with indigo, tobacco, and other articles. Those disappeared from the list of their exports thirty years ago; and they have increased the produce of no article that required skill, industry, or intelligence.

"'Hayti and Jamaica ought to satisfy the Abolitionists of this country, who would, if they had their way, reduce fifteen States of our Union to the same deplorable condition, and annihilate their exports, and thus raise the price of every thing—as sugar is raised—in the absence of enough tropical labourers to produce it.'"

Thus the *Tribune*:

"Seventy years ago Hayti exported sugar, and perhaps one or two other tropical staples, and imported nearly all that her people ate, drank, or wore. Now she produces what ministers to her own wants, rather than what will sell abroad. We do not consider this change a deplorable one.

"It is quite probable that the blacks of Hayti, and perhaps those of Jamaica also, perform less labour in the aggregate than their fathers did under the lash of the slave-driver. But who does not know many white persons who would do more work if they had good owners? And suppose they choose to take things easy, who has any right to complain? Are they begging food of us? What have they done that authorises foreign States to deplore their freedom?

"It is not true that it was the emancipation of the Haytian slaves that caused 'horrors that made the world shiver.' It was the attempt to re-enslave them after they had been legally set free that produced those 'horrors.' The falsehood on this point has been often reiterated, but it is an untruth still.

"If paying the labourer who is now compelled to work incessantly for a master, receiving but a peck of corn and three pounds of bacon per week for his service, is calculated to 'raise the price of every thing,' why then the price of 'every thing' ought to be raised, and paid without grumbling. But we believe sugar would be cheaper within five years if Slavery were instantly and universally abolished. But if paying the sugar-grower would make sugar dearer, let it be dearer and welcome.

On the subject of the present condition of the Dominican portion of the island, the *Morning Star*, of the 16th ultimo, has the following article:

"The events which are transpiring in the Republican section of this magnificent island, deserve the serious attention of all those who are really interested in the welfare of the sons of Africa in the new world. In pursuance of the truce granted by the Emperor of Hayti to the Dominican Republic, Commissioners were appointed on both sides, to put a stop to the depredations



of the marauders who infested the frontier, and to establish on a good footing the communications by land between the two countries. The Dominican Commissioners resolutely refused to accede to this last proposition, though such improved means of intercourse would greatly facilitate the trade of both parties, and would necessarily benefit the Republic no less than the Empire. The Commissioners separated without having come to any satisfactory understanding on this subject, to the great disappointment of the inhabitants of both sides of the frontier, who were anxiously awaiting the results of the negotiations, and whose goods and merchandise were packed up, ready to be conveyed across the line, there to be sold to mutual advantage. As might be expected, the unfavourable decision arrived at by the Commissioners produced a reaction; marauding was resumed on a large scale; many Haytians had their horses and cattle carried away, and an Haytian officer was killed. Though such a violation of the truce might have led to serious acts of retaliation, the Emperor of Hayti, in order to give England and France a new proof of his desire for peace and conciliation, wisely abstained from any appeal to arms. That policy was the best to prove to the two mediating powers that their friendly advice was attended to, and on the other hand, to shew that the internal state of St. Domingo was not the result of the warlike expeditions of the Haytians, as was argued at the time, but was occasioned by deplorable misgovernment.

The truth is, that for a long time past, anarchy has preyed upon the Dominican Republic; and the peace of the country is destroyed by contending factions. The inhabitants of Cibao having taken up arms against the President Baez all the other provinces supported that movement, and Baez was compelled to resign his office and to make way for his more fortunate competitor, Santana. He is supposed to have embarked on the 10th ult. Great misery and destitution continue to prevail among the unfortunate people; and instead of adopting measures to improve their condition, they seek to find relief in fighting with each other, now for Santana, then for Baez, who both laugh at their partisans, and take advantage of their folly. Such a state of things cannot last without inflicting the greatest injury upon the whole island; perhaps, indeed, to the extent of imperilling its independence. France and England may now perceive how injudicious it was on their part to favour the cause of secession, instead of interposing their good offices, in order to re-establish a better understanding between the two parties, and to promote that national union which ought never to have been dissolved. Instead of desiring to perpetuate a separation which has produced so much mischief, let England and France conspire together to promote, by friendly counsel, the union of the Dominicans with their Haytian brethren. By remaining separated, they are keeping the door wide open to the adventurous inroads of the slaveholding buccaneers of America, and are endangering, not only their own liberties, but those of every member of the African race in the West-India Islands.

## BRITISH ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENTS.

### BIRMINGHAM LADIES' NEGRO'S FRIEND SOCIETY.

WE have received the thirty-second Report of the *Ladies' Negro's Friend Society* for Birmingham, Leicester, West Bromwich, Wednesbury, and their respective neighbourhoods. This Society was established in 1825, and gave an impetus to the formation of similar Societies throughout the kingdom; Societies which sustained an important part in promoting the Act of Emancipation, passed in 1838. Their work, however, was not then resigned, for they considered themselves bound to counteract, as far as possible, the demoralizing effects of Slavery by promoting the improvement and education of the coloured people, and by opposing any obnoxious regulations or ordinances which might be passed to their detriment. It is to be regretted that Anti-Slavery Societies generally did not maintain this interest; for had as much been done for the descendants of the African race whom the British nation had torn from home and country, as they claimed at our hands, they might have presented at this time a bright picture of the blessings conferred by freedom. As it is, the most trustworthy correspondents of the *London Anti-Slavery Society* have recently declared that their character will favourably compare with the class above them, and that their improvement has been marked and progressive.

The Hon. Charles Sumner has recently given it as his opinion, that bringing forward proofs from time to time of the well-doing of our West-India population will materially strengthen the hands of those who are struggling for the freedom of the American slave.

The Annual Report shews that the activity of the Society has not diminished, though a change of circumstances has necessarily involved a direction of effort to different branches of the anti-slavery enterprise. The Report is interesting, and embraces the principal events which have marked the history of each during the past year.

Recently, a meeting of the above Society was held at Birmingham, at which several subjects of an important and interesting character claimed attention. The first under notice was the cruel and oppressive manner in which the new poll-tax is levied on the inhabitants of British Guiana, as detailed in their correspondence and newspapers from Georgetown, Demerara. The very poorest are called on to pay two dollars for a man and one for a woman; numbers, unable to meet it, have been punished as felons, and imprisoned—death to the aged ensuing in many instances. The Hon. Peter Rose, a

member of the Colonial Government, has declared the tax to be unnecessary and uncalled for.

After deliberate consideration, it was unanimously resolved to address a Memorial to Mr. Labouchere, urging the abolition of this galling and oppressive impost.

Mr. WALTER DENDY, who was present, and gave much information respecting the schools and people in Jamaica, where he has resided and zealously laboured more than twenty-five years, observed that on an attempt to introduce the tax into that island it was speedily abandoned, in consequence of the determined opposition it evoked.

Communications were read relating to schools established by the American Missionary Association among the people of Kaw Mendi, on the western coast of Africa; giving undoubted proof of good effected, and hopeful expectation of more extensive blessings diffused in proportion to the means put into operation. A small sum has been sent from this Society.

Letters from houses in London, who refine and supply free-labour sugar, were read, and also from the Free-Cotton Goods' Dépôt, in Manchester. Information from a New-York correspondent mentioned the tide of free emigrants passing into Kansas; the movement for emancipation in Missouri, and the progress to freedom in public opinion generally in the United States.

The following is a copy of the Memorial addressed to Mr. Labouchere, and referred to above.

To the Right Honourable HENRY LABOUCHERE,  
Her Majesty's Secretary for the Colonies.

"We are instructed by a Resolution of a Meeting of the *Birmingham Ladies' Negro's Friend Society*, held on the 25th of August last, to place before Her Majesty's Secretary the following considerations:

That the Secretary has laid before the meeting some recent correspondence and information that has been received from the Colony of British Guiana, shewing that the Poll-Tax, which is maintained by the local government, is producing all those sufferings and evils which its opponents foretold, aggravated by the cruelties with which its penalties are enforced.

That so unequal and unrighteous an impost, found to be absurd and impracticable in England, in a barbarous period of our history, should have received the sanction of the Colonial Office, is a matter for the deepest astonishment.

That such measures are calculated to sap those feelings of loyalty which have so long pervaded the negroes of our West-India Colonies can admit of no doubt.

That among the records of this Society is preserved the copy of a despatch from Lord John Russell, when Colonial Minister, addressed to the Governor of British Guiana, in 1840, in which is the following paragraph.

"But in whatever degree I might be disposed to

yield to the representation of the merchants and proprietors, whether in this country or in the Colonies, I must enjoin upon you to bear in mind that the happiness of the inhabitants of the Colony you are appointed to govern is the chief object.

"Encourage religious instruction; let them partake of the blessings of Christianity; preserve order and internal peace; induce the African race to feel that wherever the British flag flies they have a friend and protector; check all oppression, and watch over the impartial administration of the law. By such means our Colonies in the West Indies will be made to flourish, though in a different form and a different tense from that in which the term has been hitherto used.

"The Queen, whose commands I now convey to you, looks for her reward in the faithful attachment of a million of her people, whom it has been her care to render worthy of the boon which it has been the happiness of her predecessor to be enabled to grant by the liberal assistance of his Parliament, and amid the joy of his subjects."

That this Society deeply regrets that an enactment so repugnant to these sentiments should have received the sanction of the present Colonial Secretary, and would therefore urge upon his attention a careful and earnest reconsideration of the subject, with a view to the speedy repeal of this oppressive impost.

Signed, MARY SAMUEL LLOYD, Treasurer,  
LYDIA EDMUND STURGE, Secretary.

#### CLOUGHIER ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION.

On Thursday, the 13th ult., the annual Bazaar, in aid of the funds of the above Society, was held at Killifaddy, the residence of Mrs. R. Waring Maxwell, her suite of apartments being thrown open to visitors as heretofore.

Soon after 12 o'clock the company, comprising a large number of the surrounding gentry, clergy, and their families, as well as many from a considerable distance, began to arrive; and, before one o'clock, business was rapidly proceeding at the various tables, presided over by the friends and relatives of the hostess. On each table was arranged a tasteful display of both useful and ornamental articles. Although unable herself to be present during the Bazaar, Mrs. Maxwell was unremitting in her anxiety to promote the gratification of her visitors; and, in conjunction with those ladies who received proceeds, transacted in private her part of the duties connected with the affairs of the day. Miss Julia Griffiths, from America, having arrived on a visit to Mrs. Maxwell, and wishing to unite her sympathy with her friends in this locality, was also a participator in this happy scene, and though but recently recovered from a trying illness, kindly took the opportunity of making a few practical remarks connected with the subject of Slavery, which were most interesting to the auditors who were present.



One hundred and ten admission tickets were issued at the door, and subjoined are the names, as far as they could be ascertained, of the principal visitors, viz.:

John Corry Moutray, Esq., J.P., D.L.; Mrs. Moutray; Anketell Moutray, Esq., and Mrs. Chambers, Favour Royal; Rev. John J. Moutray, Mrs. Moutray, and family, Richmount; Mrs. Donnelly and family, Auburn, Malahide; Matthew Anketell, Esq., J.P., D.L., and Mrs. Anketell, Anketell Grove; Mrs. Hornidge, Fardross; Whitney Moutray, Esq., Mrs. W. Moutray and family, Killybrick; Mrs. T. Moutray, Killycarnan; Rev. John Storey, Mr. and the Misses Storey, Corick; Rev. Archdall Byrne, Mrs. Byrne; Mr. and Miss Twigg, Clogher; Miss Russell, Clontibret; Mrs. and the Messrs. Maunsell, Fintona; Thomas Anketell, Esq., and family, Dungallick; Rev. T. Anketell and Mrs. T. Anketell, Shanes Parsonage; Captain Montgomery Cairnes, Dublin; Mrs. Musgrove, Fintona; Howard Eccles, Esq., Screggagh; Mrs. Waller, Lissenderry; Rev. A. B. Ashe, Clogher; Mrs. Caldwell and party; Dr. Wright, Fivemiletown; — Bolton, Esq., J. Moutray Read, Esq., — Long, Esq.; Mrs. Simpson and family, Daisy Hill; John L. Spear, Esq., the Misses Spear, Clonally; Miss M'Cullagh, the Misses Patterson, Captain George Cairns, Cairntall; James R. Anketell, Esq., Brookvale; Mr. and Miss Rogers, Frederick Rogers, Esq. and party; M. Burke, Esq., Mrs. Burke, Corkil; Miss Ramsey, Miss King, Water Hill; Mr. and Mrs. Nelis, Miss Buchanan, James Buchanan, Esq., &c. &c.

On the second and successive days, there were many additional visitors to the Bazaar from Fintona, Omagh, &c., when Miss Griffiths again gave such lucid and interesting information on the subject of Slavery, as could not fail to carry conviction to the minds of all present that it was their duty to use every effort in their power to aid its abolition.

#### ANTI-SLAVERY ITEM.

THE INDIANA NEGRO LAW UNCONSTITUTIONAL. — There is a law in the statutes of Indiana which provides that after the 1st of November 1851 no negro or mulatto shall be entitled to come into or settle in the State under penalty of a heavy fine. This law has been practically a dead letter, and in no case has a conviction ever been had under it. A few days since a negro woman of this city complained of a negro girl under the law in question. She was arrested and confined in jail. On Tuesday she was brought before Judge Anderson, of the Common Pleas Court, on a writ of *habeas corpus*. It was claimed by the girl's attorneys, Messrs. Wilson and Keer, that the law was unconstitutional, for the reason that the subject matter of

the bill was not expressed in the title, as the Constitution provides. The title of the Act is, "An Act to enforce the thirteenth Article of the Constitution." Judge Anderson decided the law unconstitutional, and discharged the prisoner. — *N. A. Tribune*.

#### Review.

##### LETTER ON AMERICAN SLAVERY, by a Resident of the United States.

THIS is a small tract, republished from the *Torquay Directory* of June 10th ultimo, and written by C. A. Miner, of Abbotsford, Torquay. It is well suited to accomplish its purpose, namely, to present, in a very succinct form, the reality of the evils connected with the system of Slavery in the United States; the manner in which the people of Great Britain are contributing materially to sustain that system, and are effectually promoting its extension; a practicable method by which they may avoid so doing, and how an important degree of success may be readily and speedily accomplished. The writer takes the view, that as Great Britain absorbs in her cotton manufactures five-sixths of the whole yield of the raw staple, on the remunerative sale of which the slaveholders rely to maintain their establishments, and to produce which two-thirds of the slaves in the Southern States are employed, it is clear that the people of this country are applying a most effective stimulus to extend the system of Slavery, and to perpetuate its evils. He therefore recommends the promotion of an augmented demand for free-labour cotton, and an extension of the fields of growth. He directs attention to the capabilities of various countries for the production of the cotton-plant, and to the efforts which are making to induce commercial men to support them.

The tract is calculated to render good service to the free-labour cause.

#### Advertisements.

THE

##### STORY OF A FUGITIVE SLAVE

*Will shortly be Published, price One Shilling,*

(Inscribed to W. L. GARRISON.)

The Story of a Fugitive Slave: with a glance at the present aspects of the Slavery Question in the United States.

Edited by F. W. CHESSEX.

Subscribers' Names received by him, at 19, Harpur Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., London.

BOSTON NATIONAL ANNUAL ANTI-SLAVERY  
BAZAAR.

THE twenty-fourth Annual Anti-Slavery Bazaar will be held in Boston, United States, during next Christmas week, for the purpose of raising funds to sustain the operations of the American Anti-Slavery Society, which includes a large majority of the earliest, ablest, most eloquent, and devoted Abolitionists. From its commencement it imposed no sectarian tests; its members are of all shades of *religious* and *political* opinions; and it welcomes every one to the work who feels for the slave, and is willing to labour for the removal of the giant iniquity of Slavery. Whilst the members of the *American Anti-Slavery Society* give extensive assistance to fugitive slaves, their main efforts are exerted to produce that enlightenment and change of public opinion so essentially necessary to abolish Slavery itself, and thus only, as proved in the case of British West-Indian Slavery, can its overthrow be accomplished. Nor have they laboured in vain. They have aroused their countrymen, till the subject of Slavery is now the all-absorbing question in every circle or association, whether social, political, financial, or religious.

In their report of the Bazaar held last year the Committee say:

"The receipts of this twenty-third Anti-Slavery Bazaar are 5250 dollars, an advance on any previous year of several hundred dollars. Thus, in spite of bad weather, an insufficient Hall, and a recent election, the *American Anti-Slavery Society* is sustained more strongly than ever, to lead through the coming year the van of that national movement against Slavery which it began a quarter of a century ago.

"We rejoice as aforetime, wishing it were a thousand-fold greater, to place the whole result of our effort at the disposition of the *American Anti-Slavery Society*, not because it is the first in chronological order, nor because it is the parent of all the rest, nor because it is *our* Society, successful beyond hope or precedent. Such reasons are infantile, senile, partisan, sectarian, selfish. But we raise for that Society this insufficient offering of all we can, (earnest of more hereafter) because it seeks not itself—because it is without prejudice of race, sect, sex, or clime—because it has, on the subject of Slavery, the truth, the whole truth, and is not ashamed or afraid to proclaim it at every risk and cost, as *only able to make free*—because it, of all the institutions of the land, *has no union with slaveholders*—because it counts slave and master as equal—and *because it frowns alike on bloody despotism and bloody insurrection*. In fine, we pay our mite into the treasury of the American Society, because it advocates *immediate liberty*

*for the slaves*; because it never postpones its holy purpose till after election, or after ordination, or after to-morrow, but declares *now* is the time 'to proclaim liberty to the captive,' and to wipe out the foul blot of American slavery.

"The assistance which has been sent from Great Britain in past years has not only been useful in aiding the funds, but has cheered the hearts of those devoted friends of the slave, who have for twenty-three successive years upheld this Bazaar.

"Contributions are again solicited from the anti-slavery public of Great Britain, and will be received till the middle of October by the following ladies, viz.

Bath	- - -	Mrs. Cottrel.
Belfast	- - -	Miss Ireland, Royal Institution.
Birkenhead	- -	Mrs. O'Brien.
Birmingham	- -	Mrs. Harry Hunt, Edgbaston
Bolton, Lancashire	- -	Miss Abbott.
Bradford, Yorks.	-	Mrs. T. F. Bird, 3 Hustlers'-terrace.
Bridgwater	- -	Miss Metford.
Bristol	- - -	Mrs. H. Thomas, 2 George-street.
Chelmsford	- -	Mrs. Johns.
Cork	- - -	The Misses Jennings.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. Dowden Allman.
Crewe	- - -	Mrs. N. Worsdell.
Derby	- - -	Miss Hutton.
Dublin	- - -	Miss Bruce, Glennageragh House, Dalkey.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. Edmundson, 35 Capel street.
Do.	- - -	The Misses Haughton, 35 Eccles-street.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. Thomas Hutton, 118, Summer-hill.
Do.	- - -	The Misses Lloyd, Monks-town-hill, Kingstown.
Do.	- - -	Miss Townsend, Flower-grove, Rochestown-avenue, Dalkey.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. Webb, 176 Great Brunswick-street.
Edinburgh	- -	Mrs. J. Wigham, 5 Gray-st.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. M'Laren, Newington House.
Do.	- - -	Miss Black, 38 Drummond-place.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. Alexander, 4 St. Vincent-street.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. Berry, Rosefield Cottage, Portobello.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. Dr. Guthrie, 1 Salisbury-road.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. Dr. Ritchie, 19 Salisbury-road.
Do.	- - -	Misses Terrot, 19 Northumberland-street.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. Lowe, 30 Minto-street.
Do.	- - -	Miss Smith, 2 Hope Park.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. Mushet, 33 Nicholson-street.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. Armour, 18 Buccleugh place.



Edinburgh - - -	Mrs. Stephenson, Grange-villa.
Do. - - - -	Mrs. Berry, Rosefield Cottage, Portobello.
Evesham - - -	The Misses Davis.
Glasgow - - -	Miss C. Paton.
Do. - - - -	Miss W. Smeal.
Do. - - - -	Mrs. Dr. Nicholl, Royal Observatory.
Do. - - - -	Mrs. Samuel R. Brown, 8 Windsor-terrace.
Do. - - - -	Mrs. Robert Smith, 15 Woodside-terrace.
Do. - - - -	Mrs. Templeton, 38 Hill-street, Garnet-hill.
Do. - - - -	Mrs. James Couper, Viewfield, Campsie Junction.
Do. - - - -	Mrs. William White, 13 White Vale-street.
Do. - - - -	Mr. John Smith, 3 Brighton-place, New City-road.
Do. - - - -	Mrs. John Knox, 32 St Vincent-crescent.
Halifax - - -	Mrs. Joseph Thorp, Southwood-end.
Do. - - - -	Mrs. Geo. Edwards, Light-cliff.
Do. - - - -	Miss Bracken, George-st.
Hull - - - -	Mrs. Seaton, 30 Whitefriar-gate.
Isle of Wight - -	Mrs. Kell.
Kidderminster - -	Miss Talbot.
Leeds - - - -	Mrs. Armistead.
Do. - - - -	Mrs. J. Lupton, 1 Blenheim-terrace.
Leigh, Lancashire	Miss Anne Fletcher.
Liverpool - - -	Mrs. Banks, Myrtle-street.
Do. - - - -	Mrs. Powell, 113 Field-st.
Do. - - - -	Mrs. Steinthal.
London - - - -	Misses Massie, Upper Clapton.
Do. - - - -	Mrs. Reid, 21 York-terrace, Regent's-park.
Maidstone, Kent -	Mrs. Woodward.
Manchester - - -	Miss Whitelegge, 130 Ormond-street.
Do. - - - -	Mrs. F. Bishop.
Newcastle-on-Tyne	Mrs. John Mawson.
Do. - - - -	Mrs. J. Drewry.
Northfleet, Gravesend - - - -	Miss Esther Sturge
Nottingham - - -	Mrs. W. Enfield.
Do. - - - -	Mrs. Booth Eddison.
Do. - - - -	Mrs. Turner, Lentonfield.
Oxford - - - -	Mrs. Hemmings.
Perth - - - -	Miss Grant.
Do. - - - -	The Misses Morton.
Pontypool - - -	Mrs. Davies.
Preston, Lancashire	Mrs. Elizabeth Abbott.
Reading - - - -	Mrs. J. Huntly.
Do. - - - -	Mrs. Palmer, 2 Wellington-place.
Redruth, Cornwall	Mrs. Bellows.
Sheffield - - -	Mrs. Hincks.
Southampton - -	Mrs. Harman and Mrs. Clark
Waterford - - -	Miss Waring.

# ROCHESTER ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR. (AMERICA.)

"I have a high opinion of Frederick Douglass and his efforts. His paper is doing a very good work."—*The Hon. C. Sumner.*

WHEN soliciting Contributions for the Annual Bazaar, which the *Rochester Anti-Slavery Society* has originated, it seems desirable to inform contributors of the objects to which the funds thus raised are applied. We may, therefore, state that money realized by the Bazaar sales is devoted to spreading anti-slavery information throughout the United States, and aiding fugitive slaves on their way to Canada. This is the only Ladies' Society which makes help to fugitives a part of its duties: it is in communication with the Gentlemen's Vigilance Committee at New York, and with a Society in Canada, and is well situated for carrying out this object, the City of Rochester being within a few miles of Lake Ontario, on the Erie Canal, in the direct route from the region of Southern bondage to the land of British freedom.

To keep before the public intelligence of the evil of Slavery the Society arranges for Lectures, and contributes annually to sustain *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, a weekly anti-slavery journal of great ability, published in Rochester, and the organ of the coloured people of the United States. It is the only newspaper in America owned and edited by a coloured man, who was once a slave: and its own intrinsic merit, as well as the interest of the abolition cause generally, requires that, above every other anti-slavery journal, it should be sustained. Its great object, next to the emancipation of the slave, is the elevation of the free coloured Americans, on whom it inculcates self-exertion, self-reliance, and mental culture, as essential instrumentalities towards their attaining a right position in society. The paper also strives to remove the many disgraceful disabilities, social and political, by which the coloured people are oppressed.

Some of the articles mentioned in the Bazaar Reports as commanding a ready sale are as follows:—Materials for children's dresses *unmade*; aprons and pinafores of all kinds *made up*; baby linen, with the exception of caps; hosiery, worked collars, and cuffs; crochet work of all kinds, tatting, and knitted edgings; cambric handkerchiefs; fine Irish linen; boxes of tapes; white crochet mats and d'Oyleys; purses and balls; needle-books and pincushions of superior quality; knitted and embroidered slippers; sofa-cushions, and carriage-bags; Honiton-lace; *papier maché* ornaments; Irish bog oak ornaments; fancy stationery, and water-coloured drawings.

A complete list of the contents of every box, with *very low* prices affixed, should be placed at the top of the box. This will save

the goods from being tossed over, and thereby injured at the Custom-house, and the duties will be estimated at the low valuation. A second list, with Bazaar prices marked, may be sent to the Secretary of the Rochester Society. It has been desired that all goods should be marked with the name of the place whence they are sent, to facilitate acknowledging them in the Report of the Bazaar.

Ladies' Anti-Slavery Societies in aid of that of Rochester have been formed during the past year in the following towns: Dublin, Liverpool, Birmingham, Derby, Coventry, Mansfield, Sheffield, Rotherham, Huddersfield, Doncaster, Wakefield, Barnsley, Bradford, and Halifax.

Mrs. J. Robberds kindly undertakes to forward a box, and will receive collections (paid to Liverpool) till the 30th September 1857. Address, High Park Street, Liverpool.

The following are the names of those who will receive Contributions :

Aberdeen . . .	Mrs. Brown, 156 Crown-st.
Arbroath . . .	Mrs. Salmond, Mill Head.
Barnsley . . .	Mrs. Willan.
Beckenham, Kent,	Rev. Dr. Marsh, (pecuniary contributions only.)
Belfast . . .	Miss H. Hincks.
Birkenhead . . .	Mrs. I. B. Cooke, Shrewsbury-road.
Birmingham .	Mrs. E. Sturge, Wheelley's-hill.
Do. . . . .	Mrs. Goodrick, 11 George-street, Edgbaston.
Bradford . . .	Mrs. Ecroyd.
Brechin . . .	Mrs. Lamb, the Latch.
Bridge of Allan, Scotland	Mrs. Blair.
Bridgewater . .	Mrs. A. King.
Bristol . . . .	Mrs. R. Charleton, 13 Cotham New-road.
Chelmsford . . .	Mrs. Johns, Goldlay House.
Cork . . . . .	The Misses Jennings.
County of Donegal,	Mrs. Young, Culdaff House, Carndonagh.
Coventry . . .	Miss Cash.
Derby . . . .	Mrs. Emma Steer.
Do. . . . .	Miss Hutton.
Doncaster . . .	Mrs. Tyte, 11 Priory-place.
Dublin . . . .	Mrs. Studdert, Rathgar Mansion.
Do. . . . .	Mrs. W. Webb, 8 Dunville-avenue, Cullinswood.
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